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HOLIDAY BOOKS

Ponnuru, O'Sullivan, O'Beirne: THE CONSERVATIVE FUTURE

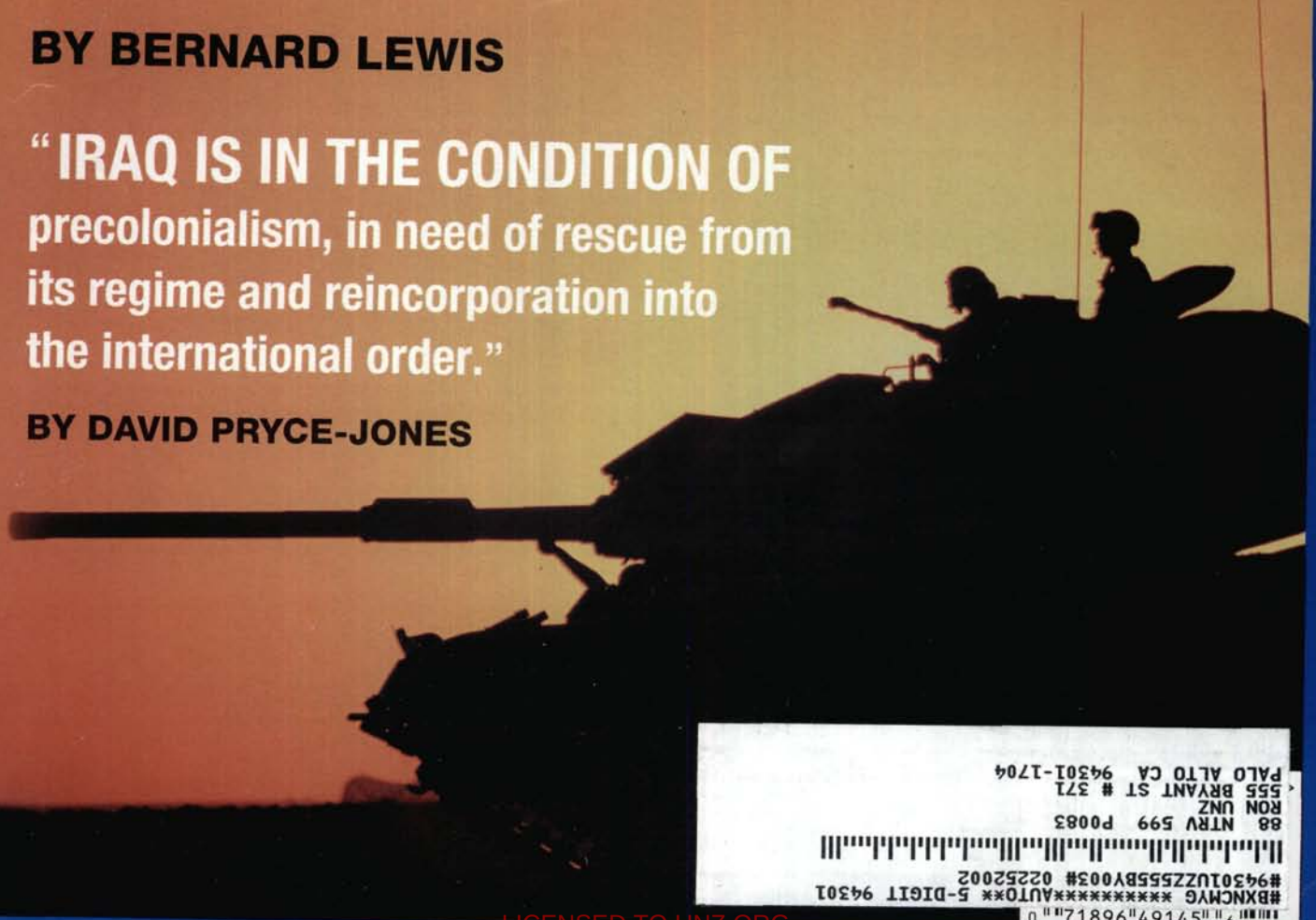
NATIONAL REVIEW

"THE RANGE OF AMERICAN OPTIONS in the Middle East is being reduced to two alternatives, both disagreeable: Get tough or get out."

BY BERNARD LEWIS

"IRAQ IS IN THE CONDITION OF precolonialism, in need of rescue from its regime and reincorporation into the international order."

BY DAVID PRYCE-JONES



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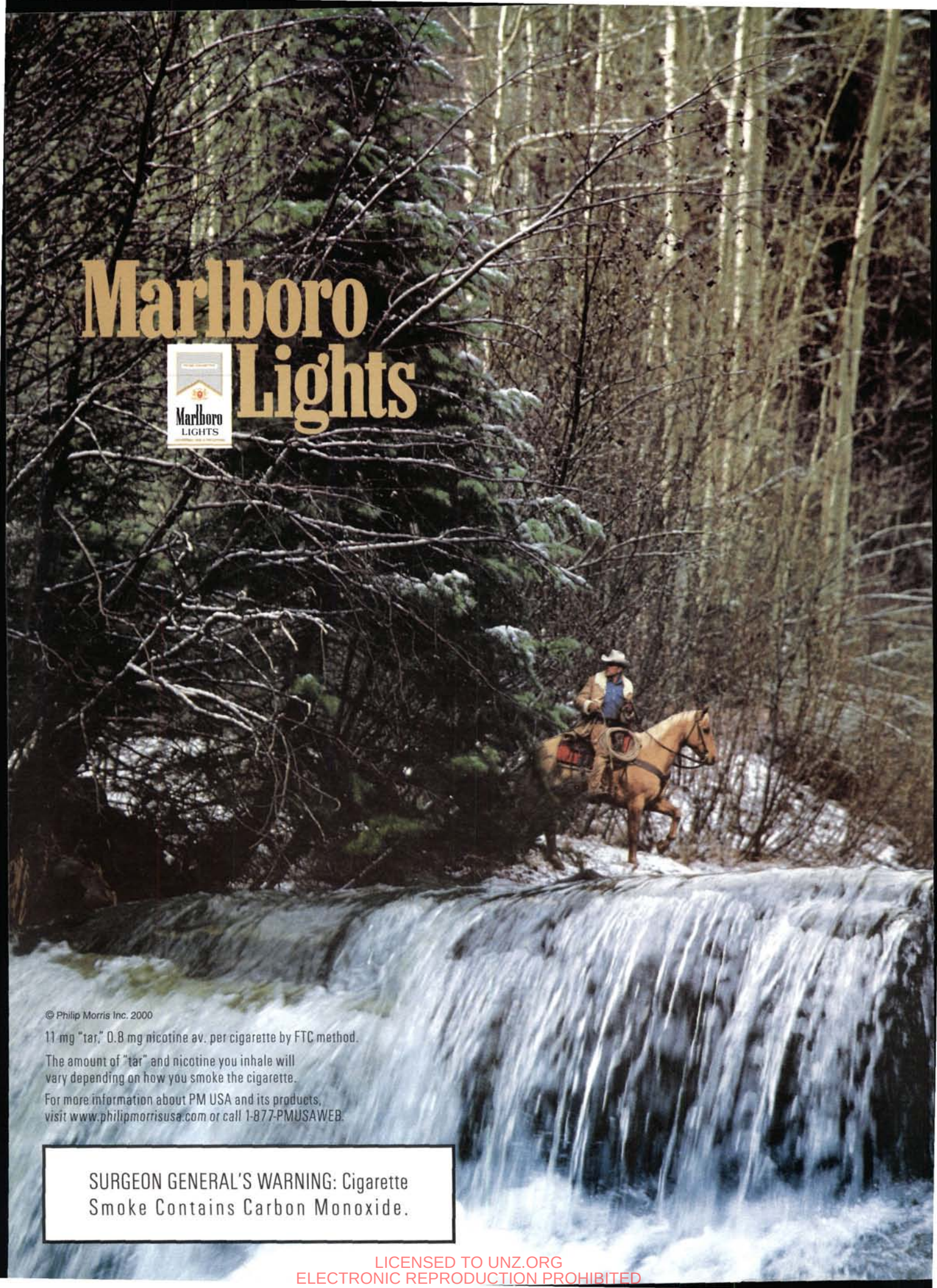
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NATIONAL REVIEW

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■ LETTERS ■

PORN AND NR

Abercrombie & Fitch, because of its history, is the perfect example of the "pervasion" you isolate and describe so well in "Porn, Pervasive Presence" (Nov. 19). Conceptually and in its detail this is an eye-opening piece. It's likely to kick up a lot of dust.

Tom Wolfe
New York, N.Y.

I wholeheartedly agree with Mr. Buckley's article, but the words were graphic enough.

Brigitte Flick
Gardner, Mass.

I encourage my kids to read NATIONAL REVIEW. It is difficult to explain to them that this particular issue may not be best suited for their eyes. Is there a way to write about pornography that will not offend? I'm not certain that it can be accomplished. Yet, if anyone is able to meet that challenge, it is one so talented as Mr. Buckley.

Sherm Johnson
Carmel, Ind.

Thanks. But what we attempted in the text was not so much description as revelation.

—ED.

You have a history of setting an example with your own high standards. This is just as important as the content of the articles and pictures, especially in a society that has lost its own standards. People need examples to get back on track. I hope you will make this article just a momentary blip on a good record and decide to return to providing that example.

Daniel Thompson
Elkhorn, Wis.

Don't you think that printing pictures of lovely naked people, under the auspices of "Gee, ain't it awful?" is, uh, kind of tacky?

Sara Clancy
Issaquah, Wash.

Yes, if that had been the editorial objective.

—ED.

Porn is not "everywhere," as your Nov. 19 cover states. There are still a few places where its contagion has not yet arrived. Our monastery is one of them—that is, until this issue came in the mail. When it is necessary to discuss moral evils related to such a volatile human passion as sex, caution and restraint are necessary to avoid defiling oneself and others.

The Brigittine Monks
Amity, Ore.

Reverend Fathers: Only monastic life could explain your assumption that our illustration was unrestrained.

—ED.

Expecting to get a conservative, Christian article about the destructive effects of pornography, I was once again duped into turning the pages to offensive nude pictures. I will never again read your magazine, and when asked my opinion about your publication, I will fervently denounce it because of the trap the editors have fallen into: giving in to the world. I never got to read the article by Buckley; it may have been excellent. The pictures themselves were so incredibly maddening, they prevented me from reading anything else in the issue. How do you expect to have loyal readers if you don't warn them about the offensiveness you have published?

Kelly Peacock
Austin, Tex.

We like readers who read, not alleged readers who affect to do so, but simply gesticulate.

—ED.

The filthy tide in this area will be turned back, I believe, not by law but by custom, and customs in a capitalist society are influenced largely by market pressure. Only when a systematic boycott is prosecuted, not against the purveyors of porn, but (in a phrase our president might use) against the advertisers who harbor them, will change occur. An organized boycott can pick its targets, concentrating its fire on one product at a time, working its way down from the most egregious porn-carrier. Who better than NR Online to coordinate this?

Jeremy Abrams
Tokyo, Japan

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TO GO DEEP INTO THE NORTH SLOPE WHERE THE OIL IS, YOU NEED A LOT OF HEAVY EQUIPMENT AND, OF COURSE, A ROAD TO RUN IT ON. SO WE USE THE WATER AND ICE ALREADY THERE TO BUILD ONE. BUT LONG BEFORE THAT, WE USE INFRARED TECHNOLOGY NORMALLY USED TO MONITOR PIPELINES TO LOOK FOR POLAR BEAR DENS. AND WHEN WE DO FIND THEM, WE GO ELSEWHERE, LEAVING MOTHERS AND CUBS SNUG IN THEIR BEDS. IN FOUR MONTHS, THE CUBS VENTURE OUT. THE ICE ROAD MELTS. IT'S SPRING IN ALASKA AGAIN. AND IT'S LIKE WE'VE NEVER BEEN THERE AT ALL. | phillips66.com

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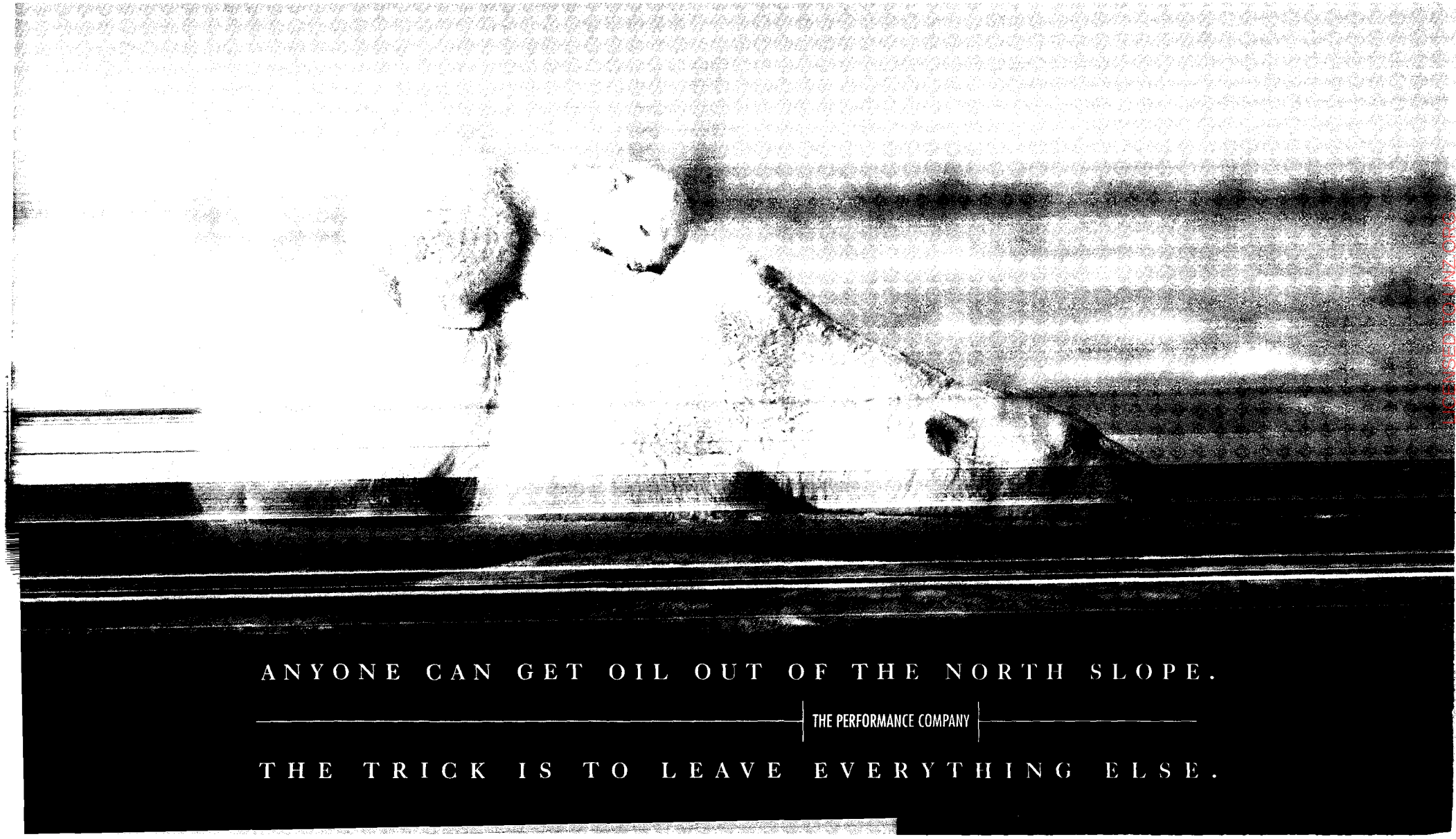

ANYONE CAN GET OIL OUT OF THE NORTH SLOPE.

THE PERFORMANCE COMPANY

THE TRICK IS TO LEAVE EVERYTHING ELSE.

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As a libertarian, someone who does not accept the interference of big government with my freedoms, how can I trust big government to best decide what people do with their bodies? How can you be conservative and against totalitarianism and still be against one's right to do whatever one wants with one's body?

Irineu Carvalho
Sao Paulo, Brazil

Obscenity, as the courts agree, is something other than merely the exercise of free speech.
—ED.

Buckley nailed the issue squarely between the eyes and left it quivering for all to see. I found myself offended and shocked by the photo of the nude young woman he provided as evidence of the depths of depravity to which our hallowed institution of snobbish clothing, Abercrombie & Fitch, has now sunk. Perhaps to remind myself that I was in fact offended, I found myself returning to the photo often, while savoring each biting point of Buckley's essay.

Matt Travis
Fall City, Wash.

At this juncture, WFB's article on porn may be irrelevant. The Playboy Channel is irrelevant; the people who habitually watch its fare are already lost. More to the point would be the A&F catalogue phenomenon (or the commercials aired during the World Series). Here you are seeing a much more dangerous trend. Watch any TV series, with its subtly corrupting view of the American scene. Or catch a Jay Leno monologue on any night and garner the latest in tastelessness.

John McAuliffe
Teaneck, N.J.

The cover of your magazine was misleading, inasmuch as there was no porn inside. It was not even "kind of porny." Nudity does not constitute porn. Page 40 may have been a first for NR, but nothing on it was pornographic.

C. P. Hall II
Brookfield, Ill.

The pornographic ascendancy is part of a larger sociological trend. In 1960 the median age at first marriage for U.S. women was 20; today it is 25. Yet surveys tell us that today the average American woman first has sexual intercourse at age 18. The typical woman, in other words, is sexually active while single for seven years.

Robert Stacy McCain
Washington, D.C.

After reading two excellent articles on pornography and obscenity in the Nov. 19 issue, I was surprised that in the very next piece Rob Long was allowed to use frivolously the sacred name of the Lord. Do the editors think that obscenity is bad, but blasphemy is okay?

Kenneth A. Cory
China, Mich.

No. (Copy to Rob Long)
—ED.

I have just finished reading your articles in the Nov. 19 issue. They are just about the finest I have ever seen on the scourges of pornography and obscenity. I intend to make certain that your work is made known to dozens of people, in and out of law enforcement, who are struggling with this international criminal problem.

William P. Kelly, FBI (Ret.)
Miami, Fla.

Congratulations to NR for recognizing an epidemic problem in today's society: porn as a pervasive presence. As Illinois lieutenant governor and a mother of three teenage children, I am appalled by the inappropriate content of Abercrombie & Fitch's quarterly catalogues. I began a boycott against A&F in 1999, when a copy of their holiday-season catalogue invaded my household. A&F responded to the boycott by shrink-wrapping the catalogue and *reportedly* selling it only to those 18 or older.

Corinne Wood
Springfield, Ill.

Greatly as I admire and agree with your Nov. 19 issue on pornography, I must express surprise that there was no mention of the Parents Television Council, an organization that has been pressing the fight against porn for several years now. Look at www.ParentsTV.org.

Bob Woods
Albuquerque, N.M.

It required civic and cultural courage to take the stance you do, and I believe it no exaggeration to say that your essay addresses one of the most deeply nihilistic and destructive developments of the last half of the 20th century.

Prof. Michael Aeschliman
School of Education, Boston University
Boston, Mass.

Why does NR agitate at this time—of all times—for a Porn War? There is no more chance of winning a porn war than there is of bringing the Drug War to a successful conclusion. Please rethink this.

Alan Brooks
Boulder, Colo.

Cultural wars never "conclude," but that doesn't mean they're not worth fighting.
—ED.

I write to compliment NR for its exposé of the porn industry and all its works. Buckley's centering on one mass-circulation magazine, *Esquire*, and on one important retail catalogue, that of Abercrombie & Fitch, by extension summarizes the present ubiquity of pornography in our culture. The illustrative material accompanying these articles serves, as nothing else could, to underscore Buckley's point, while Nordlinger gives us some hope that this plague too shall pass.

Prof. Thomas Wendel
Campbell, Calif.

I still can't define obscenity, but, thanks to NR, I now know it when I see it.

Stuart Andrews
Bellingham, Wash.

Those who pipe to Buckley's tune
Have no room for
Molly Bloom.

James C. Neely, M.D.
Napa, Calif.

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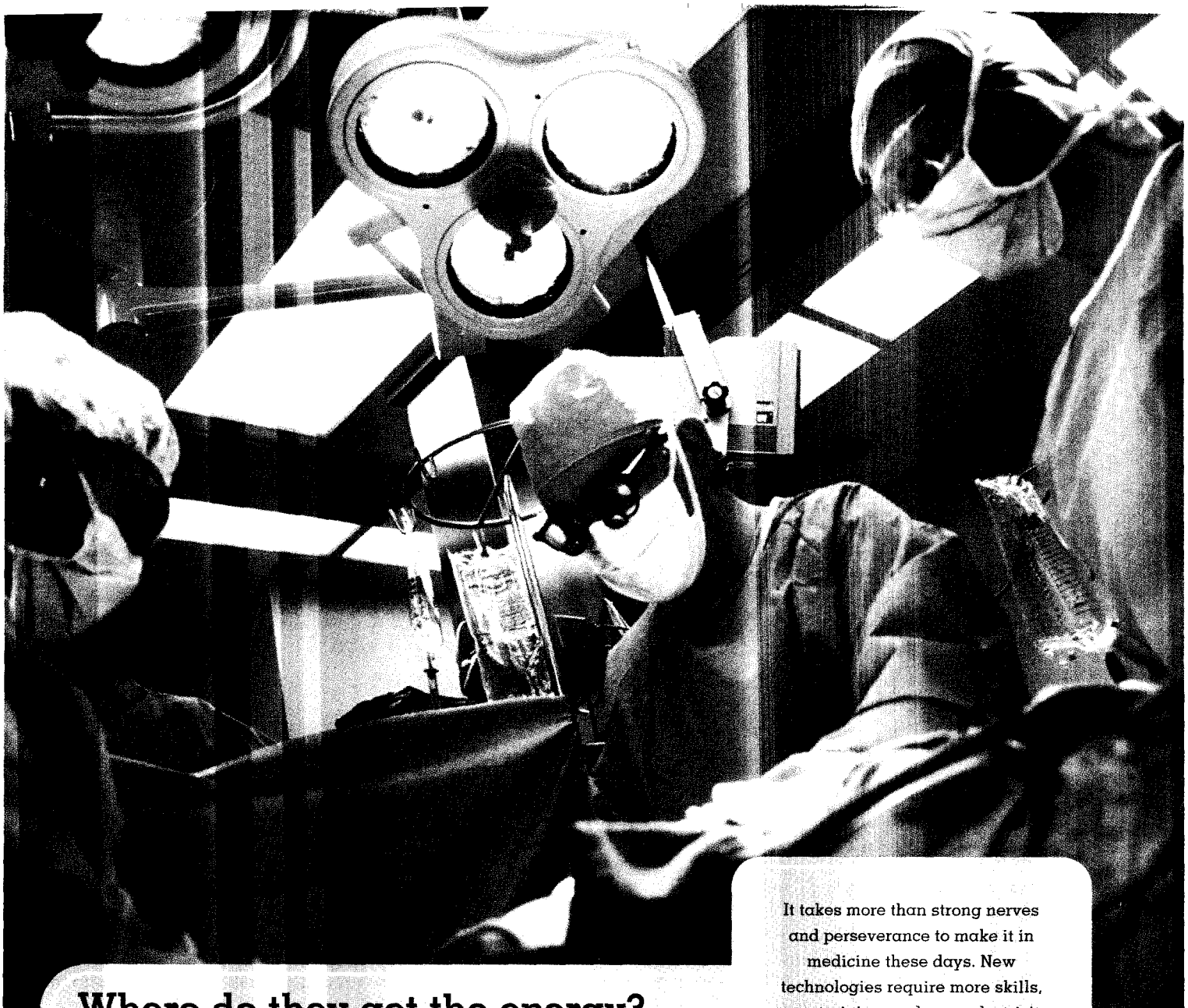

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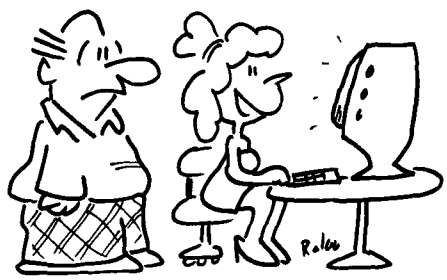
■ FOR THE RECORD ■

■ President **Bush**'s approval rating, according to Gallup: 89 percent. . . . Approval rating for media: 43 percent. . . . Bush at Fort Campbell in Kentucky: "We've made a good start in Afghanistan, yet there is still a lot to be done. . . . If you harbor terrorists, you are terrorists. If you train or arm a terrorist, you are a terrorist. If you feed a terrorist or fund a terrorist, you're a terrorist, and you will be held accountable by the United States and our friends." . . . Bush wishes "a blessed Ramadan" to Muslim diplomats visiting White House. . . . Vice President **Cheney**: "If anybody has any questions about whether or not we're determined to carry through . . . all they have to do is go to Afghanistan today and interview members of the Taliban—if they can find any." . . . National security adviser **Condoleezza Rice**, on NBC: "We didn't need Sept. 11 to tell us that **Saddam Hussein** is a very dangerous man." . . . **Newt Gingrich** on Iraq, at Heritage Foundation: "If Saddam is still in power and there are no inspectors three years from now, then we will have lost this war, even if we do well in Afghanistan, because Iraq is a vastly greater threat to our cities than is Afghanistan." . . . Secretary of defense **Donald Rumsfeld** on whether Sept. 11 was a surprise, in *Parade*: "There were lots of warnings."

■ Sept. 11 cost New York City $83 billion and will result in 57,000 lost jobs over next two years, says financial analysis. . . . Virginia governor **Jim Gilmore** (R.) halts phase-out of car tax, currently 70 percent complete, citing economy crippled by Sept. 11. . . . Supreme Court justice **Antonin Scalia** on what he'd do if a popular vote were held on national I.D. cards: "Personally, I'd probably vote against it." . . . Senate majority leader **Tom Daschle**, touring Mexico: "We want to ensure that those people who have come from Puebla to the Northeast and want to stay in the United States as citizens can do so." . . . Harvard president **Lawrence Summers**, in *Harvard Crimson*: "The post-Vietnam cleavage between coastal elites and certain mainstream values is a matter of great concern and has some real costs." . . . *Soldier of Fortune* editor says sales have skyrocketed. . . . **Eugene Scalia**, nominee for top lawyer at Labor Department, can't get Senate floor vote despite approval in committee because of opposition by Sen. **Ted Kennedy** (D., Mass.) and Sen. **Chris Dodd** (D., Conn.).

■ Cheney: "There are today more vacancies on the federal bench than there were the day we were inaugurated. The pace of new vacancies is actually faster than the pace of confirmations. Barely one in four of President Bush's nominees have been given a hearing and a vote. This should be unacceptable to anyone concerned about the administration of justice in our country." . . . **King** family demands fee before it will allow fundraisers for MLK memorial on Mall to use words and images of civil-rights leader. . . . In BET.com/CBS poll, 56 percent of blacks agree "black men as a group have failed their families." . . . After years of decline, crime rate begins to flatten with homicides up sharply in Boston, Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, Phoenix, and Pittsburgh.



"Neat!—Did you know that you can now get a divorce on the Internet?"

■ Vermont governor **Howard Dean** (D.) leans toward 2004 presidential run. . . . Florida judge throws out NOW lawsuit against state for stamping "Choose Life" license plates. . . . In Quinnipiac poll, 57 percent of New Yorkers say they would like **Rudy Giuliani** to run for governor, including 51 percent of Democrats. . . . Giuliani: "I think legacies happen after you're dead, and I don't intend to die, so I don't give any thought to legacy." . . . Bradley Foundation announces Milwaukee lawyer **Michael W. Grebe** as next president. . . . Correction: Gallup poll of adults nationwide, not of New Yorkers as we reported, showed 41 percent consider New York safe compared to 33 percent one year ago.

■ Yemeni citizen **Ramzi Omar** becomes subject of worldwide manhunt, as officials believe he was slated to be 20th hijacker but wasn't allowed into U.S. . . . Number of foreign students at U.S. colleges and universities jumps 6.4 percent in 2001, to 547,667. . . . Illegal immigration at Mexican border drops about 25 percent, owing to worsened American economy. . . . Justice Department headquarters named after **Robert F. Kennedy**, murdered by Palestinian immigrant **Sirhan Sirhan** and described by Salon.com as "one of this country's first victims of Arab terrorism." . . . Barnes & Noble hosts author event for Weatherman terrorist **Bill Ayers** in Evanston, Ill. . . . Hillsdale College to hold its annual Churchill Dinner on Dec. 5 at Mayflower Hotel in Washington. Speaker is Sen. **Jesse Helms**, on "Emerging Threats to American Security." Those interested in attending should call (517) 607-2318.

■ **Mullah Omar**: "The current situation in Afghanistan is related to a bigger cause. That is the destruction of America." . . . Russian president **Vladimir Putin**, on upcoming U.S. missile tests: "Under no circumstances could it lead to any tension in the relations between Russia and the United States." . . . Spain won't extradite suspected terrorists to U.S. unless they are tried in civilian courts rather than before military tribunals. . . . German Greens back U.S. action in Afghanistan. . . . Former Peruvian president **Alberto Fujimori**, living in exile, considers running for Japanese parliament.

■ Before taking questions from students in Crawford, Tex., Putin requests: "No math questions, please." Adds Bush: "Good idea. Particularly no *fuzzy-math* questions." **NR**

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THE WEEK

■ Colin Powell goes to war—against his domestic critics. In "The World According to Powell," by Bill Keller, in *The New York Times Magazine*, he and his friends defend everything he has done and not done. Psst, Mr. Secretary—do you know what Saddam Hussein has been saying about you?

■ New York City officials have been revising their estimates of how many thousands died in and around the World Trade Center on September 11; counting has been slow because the murderers left few bodies. The total death toll, including those killed at the Pentagon and in Pennsylvania, now looks as though it could reach 3,245. To put that in perspective: It is more than all the deaths at Pearl Harbor; more than all the deaths at Saratoga, or the Battle of New Orleans; more than all who perished in the New York draft riots, or the Chicago Fire, or the San Francisco earthquake, or on the *Titanic*. Because of the courage of the rescue workers, the gallantry of the passengers of Flight 93, and the strength of the Promethean trade towers, the toll was not higher. Because of our just anger, the toll of our enemies will be much higher.

■ A group of six Republican and Democratic senators—plus Jim Jeffords, who for inscrutable purposes of his own continues to pretend he is not a Democrat—unveiled an economic-stimulus compromise. Some compromise: Their bill contains almost nothing that any supply-sider would consider helpful to the economy. It wouldn't cut capital-gains tax rates, repeal the alternative minimum tax, or bring the top income-tax rate down. It is a mishmash of tax credits, rebates, "targeted" (i.e., discriminatory) and temporary business tax cuts, and new spending. Few provisions would improve incentives to work, save, and invest, and some would weaken them. It serves neither the country's economic needs nor the president's political goals. In what has become a pattern for him, Treasury secretary Paul O'Neill nevertheless endorsed the bill as the basis for negotiation. But if this is what the final stimulus package will look like, the economy would be better off without it.

■ James Carville, Stanley Greenberg, and Bob Shrum aren't afraid of President Bush. In a recent memo, the Democratic strategists explain that the 2002 congressional elections will turn on domestic issues; Republican leadership on security questions will not matter as long as Democrats are viewed as patriotic. Besides, "voter doubts [about Bush] are close to the surface." They argue that the war is making Americans community-minded and thus friendly to big government; at the same time, it is making social liberalism look good in contrast with the Taliban. The obvious implication for the Republicans is that they should continue to press a domestic agenda while making the case for social conservatism. They might also pay attention to a cautionary note that the Democratic strategists sound. They think that Democrats can gain an advantage on the economy, but do not have it yet. Their polling finds voters to be skeptical of tax rebates, preferring policies that would promote investment. If Republican pols can't win an argument about *that*, they ought to quit their jobs.

■ A Worcester, Mass.-based company called Advanced Cell Technology claims to have cloned human embryos—the first time that has been done. Reports of this breakthrough have renewed congressional calls for a ban on cloning. But Congress has been divided on the scope of a ban: Many congressmen want to ban "reproductive cloning" while allowing "therapeutic cloning." In the latter case, a human embryo would be created but never implanted in any woman's womb; instead, it would be "harvested" for research and medical purposes and, in the process, destroyed. This kind of cloning is for some reason considered less troubling than reproductive cloning. But this is upside down. Therapeutic cloning involves creating a human embryo—which is to say, an embryonic human being—while planning to kill it. No medical breakthrough, however desired, can justify treating human life in this instrumental manner. Cloning should be banned comprehensively, and banned now, before what is naïvely called scientific "progress" can proceed further.

■ President Bush named the Department of Justice building after Robert F. Kennedy. What aspect of Kennedy's stint as attorney general did Bush wish to celebrate? Defending the civil rights of blacks in the South less zealously than the Eisenhower administration? Crusading against the mobsters who were the friends and patrons of his father and brother? Robert Kennedy made his mark, not as attorney general, but as a politician, and his record—as Michael Knox Beran has pointed out—is mixed, which is not unusual with people who are passionate and confused. The Kennedy family will certainly not thank Bush for his favor—they will view it as only one of the many little perks, along with drug habits and elective office, they are entitled to. A bad move.

■ The week of 9/11, Bush promised New York elected officials $20 billion. Now comes a flurry of press reports that New York won't collect. What is going on? Gov. George Pataki overreached, submitting a $54 billion claim larded with pork, much of it bound for upstate; he was properly slapped down. The $40 billion emergency appropriation voted by Congress, half of which was slated for disaster recovery in New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, looks as if it will instead be eaten up (legitimately) by war expenses and (illegitimately) by

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The Press and the War

Robert Zelnick is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and acting director of the Boston University Department of Journalism.

How tempting it is to say that David Westin, the president of ABC News, suffered a bout of foot-in-mouth disease when he told a Columbia Journalism School audience that "I actually have no opinion on that," in response to whether he considered the Pentagon a legitimate military target on September 11.

What about Steven Jukes, the Reuters editor, who offered, "We all know that one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter," as the excuse for the news agency's decision against describing the hijackers as "terrorists."

Or NPR's foreign editor, Loren Jenkins, who explained why he would report a secret U.S. commando staging area in Northern Pakistan if he found one: "I don't represent the government. I represent history, information, what happened."

Alas, the statements belie an underlying moral confusion that is beyond arrogance. **If the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon are not acts of evil criminality, then is anything criminal in Mr. Westin's world?** Rwanda? Katyn forest? the Holocaust?

If killing innocent civilians for political purposes is not terrorism, then Reuters has summarily rejected the conventional usage of a familiar term. Would it similarly decline to call the premeditated killing of a single individual "murder"?

Mr. Jenkins, whose judgment could send American military personnel to their deaths, offers a supposedly noble excuse: "We journalists are above national allegiances. We are the historians for all mankind, the future's agents." But if you are also the eyes and ears of the enemy, don't demand access to military operations under the banner of the First Amendment. People no less idealistic than yourself died in the service of that amendment. It is not now yours to defile.

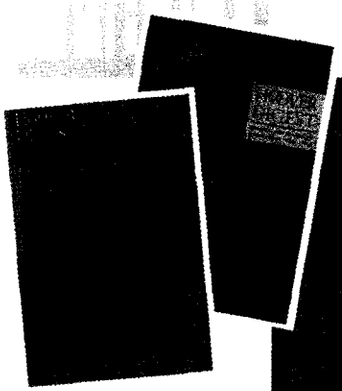
The press does have its role to play in a democracy, even during a time of war. That role is different from those of political or military institutions. The press cannot cease to ask questions and must view bland accounts of progress with skepticism. It cannot become a willing agent of disinformation in what the military euphemistically calls "the information war." It cannot shy from reporting failed operations or even successful ones that trigger excesses among allied troops. It cannot ignore civilian casualties or unthinkingly accept military charges that many of those casualties result from the enemy using civilians as shields.

In today's war the press was right to accept Taliban invitations to view what that government chose to make available, just as a decade ago, in the midst of Operation Desert Storm, Western reporters flocked to Baghdad to learn what they could. And yes, the press should report the words of adversaries, even Osama bin Laden, if those words are newsworthy and present no clear and present danger of terrorist violence.

The quest is for truth. In time of war that quest is difficult and dangerous. Coolness, analytic detachment, and an objective eye are all qualities to be admired in today's journalists as they have been in the past. But objectivity and neutrality are not synonyms. Nor does objectivity require the debasement of language. And no standard of credible journalism justifies putting the lives of Americans at risk.

— Robert Zelnick

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.



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expanding domestic programs. The White House assures anxious New Yorkers that the money will be there when they need it. Gentlemen, the need is now. This is not a city begging for help with its self-inflicted wounds; this is a city that took our largest hit of the war, and that must restore the infrastructure of its financial center. In a moment of tension and despair, President Bush gave noble assurances. He must cut through the politicking and the business-as-usual to back up his word.

■ After spending their way through a prosperous decade, states are now seeing their revenues dry up. Fiscal trouble may soon compel the governors to call for their own special bailout package from Congress—perhaps even a revival of Nixon-era revenue sharing, which is currently a favored idea among liberal economists. The test of gubernatorial mettle will come in January, when governors traditionally lay out their budgets. The early signs aren't encouraging: Virginia has announced it won't complete the promised phase-out of its hated car tax and Florida has put off dealing with an unpopular property tax. Reviving revenue sharing might rescue state lawmakers from tough decisions, but the policy of distributing federal dollars to the states on a formula removes an important layer of accountability. The real answer for the states is budgetary discipline in both the lean and the fat years—and it's never too soon to start.

■ By trying to impose spending restraint, Mitch Daniels, the president's budget director, is making all the right enemies. The Republican chairman of the House appropriations committee reportedly refuses to return his phone calls, and Sen. Ted Stevens ($, Alaska) says Daniels should "go back to Indiana." Daniels's efforts are, after all, testimony to their own profligacy. The White House originally planned to hold discretionary spending next year to $661 billion. After September 11, it agreed with appropriators to go up to $686 billion. Since then, an additional "emergency" $40 billion has been committed. Appropriators now want about $30 billion on top of that. Sadly, it is not only the professional spenders in the Congress who have lost all restraint. Some of Daniels's colleagues, finding themselves in charge of government agencies, have quickly gone native. Now would be a good time for the president to send Mitch Daniels some reinforcements.

■ In his much-touted speech at the University of Louisville, secretary of state Colin Powell spoke out strongly against terror. What he would have us do next, it appears, is not go after Iraq or other terror states, but settle the Arab–Israeli dispute. And how is that to be done? By building trust. Palestinians have to renounce terror and accept that they can achieve their goals only through negotiation. Israelis must end the occupation. Both sides are equally at fault, in other words. This is once again the fraudulent perspective of moral equivalence. Israelis are occupying territory because they were attacked from it in war. Why should they trust Palestinians who continue to wage terror campaigns against them from that very territory? Terror is the same wherever you find it. "The tongue has no bone," goes an expressive Arab proverb about people who say what their listeners want to hear. Trust doesn't come that way.

■ The Bush administration has long said two things about the ABM Treaty: 1) that it won't violate it; 2) that it won't let it stand in the way of necessary testing of a missile-defense system. At his Crawford love-fest with Vladimir Putin, Bush had hoped to forge a temporary Third Way around these two positions by getting the Russians to agree to certain American tests even though they violate the treaty (what, after all, are a few treaty violations between such good friends?). Putin's *nyet* leaves Bush no way out: He must either forgo progress toward the urgent national goal of protecting American cities from missile attack, or withdraw from a treaty that he has called "useless" and "dangerous." It shouldn't be a hard choice.

■ Sen. Chris Dodd has decided that President Bush's nominee to be assistant secretary of state for the Western Hemisphere will never, ever get a hearing. That nominee is Otto Juan Reich, who in the 1980s (as at all times) was everything Dodd wasn't: clear-eyed about Communism, mindful of the long-term health of Latin America, and unmovable in favor of freedom. Small wonder Dodd and those like him hate this Cuban-born Reaganite so much. This nomination will surely die if Bush and, perhaps more important, Colin Powell don't speak up for it and insist on it.

■ Prime Minister Blair's enthusiastic support for the United States in the war against terror has caused resentment and dismay in the European Union. Its leaders always complain that Britain is closer to the United States than it is to Europe. The EU is collectively pouting that this time Blair has gone too far. To mend fences, Blair attended a rally in Nuremberg. Famously he has no time for history, so he would not have known about other rallies once held in that city. All in his own grammar, he assured his German hosts that "Britain's national interest lies as wholehearted players in Europe." To think anything else, he said, shows a failure of imagination. If Blair has his way, military participation with the United States in Afghanistan will be a big step on the way to Britain's becoming a province of the EU. That must be imagination at work, because it has nothing to do with logic.

■ In China, the Communists continue to crack heads, particularly those of Falun Gong, the outlawed and viciously persecuted meditation group. On November 20, a group of 35 Westerners—from Europe, Canada, and the U.S.—protested in Tiananmen Square. Their method of protesting was to unfurl a banner reading "Truth, Forbearance, and Benevolence" and to pray. They were swiftly carted away, then expelled. This is the sort of protester who deserves Western attention and support. The anti-"globalization" louts and thugs will get most of the attention, and all too much support—but, not for the first time, men and women in Tiananmen Square have shown what true protest, against true evil, is.

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■ The Council on American-Islamic Relations has solicited a meeting with the Rev. Franklin Graham, son of Billy, after he described Islam in the course of an interview as "a very evil and wicked religion." Welcome to the religious marketplace. CAIR, an apologist for terrorists and one-party states, may be new to it. They should consult the collected sermons of Cardinal Spellman, Billy Sunday, and Henry Ward Beecher.

■ It took a war against America in the name of Islam to allow it, but in New York City public schools—the same schools that have cut all ties to the Boy Scouts because of their intolerant beliefs—prayer was introduced this Ramadan. It was reported that the Board of Education would set aside rooms for Muslim students who cared to pray so long as they did not interrupt classes. When the news got out, however, the schools chancellor reverted to the pre-war policy of avoiding "the appearance of support for any particular religion or other entanglement." Even when it's a politically correct religion, evidently, the Gospel according to the ACLU is better than any from above.

■ Things are different in the gender-integrated military. The crew of the carrier USS *Theodore Roosevelt*, currently cruising in the North Arabian Sea, learned this when six Miami Dolphins cheerleaders came aboard to lift the spirits of the troops, who have been at sea without a port call since mid September. Alas, the spirits of some female crew members remained decidedly unlifted. "Why should they bring something that is sexually provocative on a ship full of young men?" grumbled seaperson Andrea Commander (yes, Commander). "You know what young men think about." Uh-huh, we know. It seems unkind to deprive them altogether of the opportunity to think about it, though, when they are putting themselves in harm's way for their country. The obvious remedy was suggested by Andrea's shipmate, Christy: "Maybe next time they could bring some football players."

Condoleezza's Calling

She isn't hearing voices, so
No sly talk, please, of Joan.
Her lip, moreover's, British-stiff
(The upper one); her tone,
So crucial when hallooing down
The corridors of power,
Has George's ear, while gastric juice—
Saddam's—begins to sour.

—W. H. von Dreele

Editor's Note: The next issue of National Review will appear in three weeks.

■ Richard Rhodes is an entirely competent historian on the subject of atomic and hydrogen bombs. In a recent *New York Times Book Review*, he wrote at length about Edward Teller's new *Memoirs: A Twentieth-Century Journey in Science and Politics*. Throughout, this review dripped with malice and venom. Rhodes didn't much like Teller's telling the truth about J. Robert Oppenheimer. He faulted Teller's memory about facts large and small. Climactically, he blamed Teller for our September 11 disaster. No kidding. Teller "was a major player in Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative. It remains to be determined how much responsibility the missile defense mandarins bear for the nation's lack of protection against terrorist attacks, how much their glamorous and expensive high-tech visions distracted our leaders from practical home defenses." Sorry. It has been "determined." The answer is, not at all. If non sequiturs were horses, exacerbated reviewers might ride. This nation owes a great deal to Edward Teller, now 93.

■ Anorexia causes organ damage and infertility, and can be fatal—but its champions are the latest special interest to put a bid in for "tolerance." "Pro-ana" websites—offering chatrooms, 500-calorie-a-day menus, and tips on avoiding detection—call self-starvation an empowering "lifestyle and a decision, not an 'illness' to be fixed." Earlier this year, the National Association of Anorexia Nervosa and Associated Disorders asked Internet engines to shut down or "unlist" pro-ana sites, and some did. But as fast as one site comes down, another springs up to take its place; moreover, the predictable rumblings of political action against such restrictions have already begun. A culture that accepts all lifestyles as equally worthwhile has few arguments against even practices that kill or permanently disable those who choose them.

■ It will not come as news to readers of NR that it is possible to rise very high in the humanities faculties of American universities by writing twaddle, so long as your twaddle suggests that white people are wicked and that sexual deviance is liberating. Roger Kimball explored this territory recently in our pages (Oct. 15). Casting about for an especially egregious example of the species, he turned up the University of Chicago's Homi Bhabha, begetter of the theory of postcolonial hybridity, which he will be glad to explain to you if you ask him. (It has something to do with "the desperate effort to 'normalize' formally the disturbance of a discourse of splitting that violates the rational, enlightened claims of its enunciatory modality.") Mr. Bhabha has now been lured away to Harvard University, and Harvard is cock-a-hoop at its prize acquisition. Burbled the chairman of the English department: "He's manifestly one of the most distinguished cultural theorists of the postcolonial and diasporic experience in the world." Tuition, room, and board at Harvard start at over $30,000 a year.

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A world of ideas on public policy.

New Hope For AIDS Sufferers in Africa

by Merle A. Sande, M.D.

Sub-Saharan Africa faces enormous problems as it struggles with the AIDS pandemic, but the Western world can lend a vital helping hand. Today, most observers acknowledge that the biggest challenge facing the continent is not the availability or price of anti-retroviral and other drugs, but the lack of an adequate primary healthcare infrastructure. Throughout Africa, medical professionals must operate within hard-pressed healthcare systems that cannot cope with the enormous challenges facing them. By bringing resources to bear on this deficit, Western healthcare providers and industry – in partnership with Western governments – can improve these conditions.

An international coalition – the Academic Alliance for AIDS Care and Prevention in Africa – will break ground in 2002 on the first large-scale HIV/AIDS clinic in Africa. The Academic Alliance consists of five professors of medicine from North American medical schools and eight professors of medicine, pediatrics, and public health from Makerere University Medical School in Kampala, Uganda. Pfizer Inc and the Pfizer Foundation are providing $11 million over three years to fund construction and staffing of the clinic, which will be located at Makerere University. Pfizer is also donating its antifungal medicine Diflucan® *(fluconazole)* for use in treating HIV/AIDS patients suffering from cryptococcal meningitis and esophageal candidiasis.

Expected to open in late 2002, the new clinic will provide state-of-the-art diagnosis and treatment of HIV, tuberculosis, opportunistic infections, and sexually-transmitted diseases. These capabilities will allow a quantum leap in training in AIDS care by giving clinicians access to previously unavailable information about levels of immune competence and HIV viral load. Once the facility is fully operational, it will treat many thousands of AIDS patients annually according to the latest standards of care. The clinic will also train approximately eighty clinicians each year in the most advanced techniques for treating AIDS. These medical professionals will then return to their own institutions to train many more, multiplying the new facility's impact. The clinic will hopefully serve as a model for the establishment of many others like it throughout the continent.

> ***The new HIV/AIDS clinic being established by the Academic Alliance and Makerere University exemplifies the vital role that public-private partnerships play in checking the AIDS pandemic***

It's fitting that the new clinic will be located in Uganda. The AIDS pandemic has hit that country particularly hard. In 1999 alone, 110,000 Ugandans died as a result of AIDS, and almost one million children were orphaned. Today some 820,000 Ugandans – more than 8 percent of the adult population – are living with HIV/AIDS, and only one percent of them have access to anti-retroviral medicines.

President Yoweri K. Museveni's government has won widespread praise for the political will and courage it has shown in combating AIDS. Uganda's aggressive public education and prevention programs have contributed to a sustained, dramatic reduction in the country's HIV infection rate – from 30 percent in the early 1990s to just over eight percent currently. That success heavily influenced the Academic Alliance's decision to locate the new clinic in Kampala.

The establishment of the Makerere clinic is a vital first step in the larger project of strengthening Africa's medical infrastructure, replicating it across the continent, and bringing the latest medicines to bear on treating this disease. Pharmaceutical companies have expanded access to needed medicines in Africa through donations and price reductions. But the continent continues to need a better delivery system for medical services to ensure proper dosing, education, and treatment of HIV/AIDS patients.

The training provided at the clinic will pave the way for wider access to anti-retroviral therapies throughout Africa. And it will help African medical professionals provide their AIDS patients the same enhanced care that developed-world patients have come to expect.

The program will also conduct critical operational research to determine the most effective ways to prevent HIV transmission, as well as to treat the infection and its complications. In addition to training African clinicians in HIV/AIDS care, the program will provide training in translational and clinical science for African students and physicians.

Anti-retroviral drugs are an essential part of the solution to the AIDS pandemic, but they are only part of that solution. The new HIV/AIDS clinic being established by the Academic Alliance and Makerere University exemplifies the vital role that public-private partnerships play in checking the AIDS pandemic. This initiative offers new hope and a brighter future to Africa's 25 million HIV-infected people.

Merle A. Sande, M.D., is co-chairman of the Academic Alliance for AIDS Care and Prevention in Africa, and Professor of Medicine at the University of Utah.

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■ When Mary Kay Ash died at 83, on Thanksgiving Day in Dallas, she left 850,000 sales consultants in 37 countries with both the independence that comes from running their own small business and a philosophy of personal achievement that transforms lives. She founded her cosmetics empire in 1963, after working for 25 years in sales, because she "just couldn't believe that a woman's brain was worth only 50 cents on the dollar." She didn't take to the streets or convene a seminar. Instead, she made an investment of $5,000 and launched a fleet of pink Cadillacs. Mary Kay fervently believed that women could "have it all" if they prioritized their lives with God first, family second, and career third. She is mourned by the hundreds of thousands of women who realized her dream for them.

AT WAR

The Unavoidable Question

THE West is not at war with Islam. President Bush has said as much, by now, a dozen times. He is surely right to do so. Most of the Muslims of Indonesia, or of Detroit, pose no threat to Americans. Their mass conversion to Christianity is not one of our war aims. But Bush, joined by untold numbers of politicians, clerics, and journalists, has said more than this. Islam is said to be "a religion of peace," at least at its core. The vast majority of Muslims around the world, we are told, have little in common with Osama bin Laden and his band of killers.

Perhaps these claims are true. But it is at least imaginable that they are not—that a sizable proportion of the world's Muslims, if not willing to take up arms against us, cheer on those who do. Moreover, the people who are making these claims have generally made no deep study of the Islamic world. Bush says what he says mainly for reasons of state (and again, he is quite right to do so). Others seem to harbor a misguided fear that Americans would lash out at innocent Muslims if not reassured that Islam is incidental to the attacks on us.

But formulaic cant does not reassure. It is a naïveté typical of American liberals to assume that everyone is just like us under the skin—wanting the same things we want as soon as satellite TV becomes available. It is a tempting and even, in its generosity of spirit, admirable conceit; but it is not true. As the rejoicing in Afghanistan has made clear, the human spirit subjected to Islamist totalitarianism rebels against it. That doesn't mean that the Taliban's doctrines do not appeal to Muslims who know them only in theory, or that Afghans would establish a parliament left to their own devices.

Nor should we consider Islam an abstraction unconnected with the actual beliefs and practices of those who claim to believe it. Whether Islam, rightly understood, countenances violence against innocents who do not follow it is an important question; but for practical purposes, it is less important than whether Islam does so as understood, rightly or wrongly, by millions of people who consider themselves its adherents. In the days when Christians killed Jews, it would not have done the victims much good to be told that their killers were acting as bad Christians.

It may be urged that we not apply contemporary Christian standards since Christians had a six-century head start over Muslims, and gave up religious wars only 350 years ago. Islam has not—yet?—had the chastening experience of a Reformation, Counter Reformation, and Enlightenment to temper its temporal ambitions. For that matter, it was not until the 1980s that most countries with Catholic majorities became democratic. Perhaps there are historical accidents that caused the Middle East, the home of the Muslim imagination, to develop in such a stunted way. The region is home to secular tyrannies—Iraq, Syria—no less repressive than Islamism (although even these regimes exploit Muslims' religious sentiments). Perhaps it is not impossible that Islam, as practiced by societies, will evolve in the direction of peace and freedom. But Americans can be forgiven for not taking the long view at the moment.

Most religions have been able to inspire nobility and cruelty, glory as well as madness, and Islam is no exception. But that does not preclude the possibility that something in Islam lends itself, more than other religions, to exterminationist and totalitarian politics. The Islamists who have interpreted their religion in that manner are our enemies. They are not the entire Muslim world, but they are not a tiny and isolated minority of it either. Since they claim to speak for all Muslims, it is up to those Muslims who reject the Islamists' views—including, yes, Muslim immigrants to America—to repudiate them in word and deed. And it is up to the rest of us to demand that they do so. This would not be an unprecedented demand: Especially in recent years, both Christian churches and the secular culture have held Christians accountable for the enormities committed in the name of their religion.

The extent to which Islam has contributed to this war—as also to the poverty, illiberalism, and general backwardness of the Muslim world—is an open question. It is a question that Americans will necessarily debate, under the circumstances, and it was arrogant folly of American political elites to believe that incantations and intimidation could stop them from debating. They would be wiser to make constructive contributions, so that the debate is as humane and intelligent as possible.

AT WAR II

Next Year in Baghdad

THE warriors of the Taliban and al-Qaeda have been behaving according to type. For five years they maintained a regime whose police methods depended on harassing shopkeepers and beating and executing insufficiently servile women. When they faced a Northern Alliance revived by air cover, they fled their positions for a few redoubts or for the hills. The foreign gunmen of al-Qaeda shot their less desperate Taliban comrades who wished to change sides. Most

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recently, a party of Taliban fighters who had supposedly surrendered used concealed weapons to stage a three-day riot in a prison outside Mazar-e-Sharif. Their conduct is shifty, barbaric, and base. Whether it is also cowardly, as President Bush called the terror hijackers after September 11, is a matter for debate. Let's just say that if it isn't cowardly, it will do until something that is truly cowardly comes along.

Osama bin Laden, charismatic killer, looks less charismatic in his cave, outside which his acolytes are being killed. His posters, which were flying out of the bazaars, have been selling at a slower rate. Middle Eastern leaders are adjusting their instinctive salaam to success. What a difference victory makes—and not just abroad, either. Until the tide of fighting turned, elite opinion in the United States was hearing the frog-croak of defeatism. R. W. Apple, always a reliable purveyor of conventional wisdom, wrote in the *New York Times* about the deepening quagmire.

There was reason to complain throughout October and early November, to be sure. But the tide in Afghanistan turned when American strategy did, shifting from a holding operation to allow the diplomats to arrange a coalition government, to killing the enemy. When the Taliban and al-Qaeda started dying, their enemies gained ground and recruits. The building of a coalition could proceed in the sweet atmosphere of success. There is a lesson here for the future. Pauses in the rhythm of war will inevitably occur, but when they do many in America, many of them prominent, will lose heart, and the spectators of the war in the Middle East will yearn once again for America's comeuppance. Victory is the way to win hearts and minds, at home and abroad.

What next? The region is sown with terrorist havens, but Iraq is the preeminent danger. Saddam Hussein, nursing a decade-long grudge, has starved his subjects and stripped resources even from his conventional forces in a headlong push for atomic, chemical, and germ weapons. Iraqi agents were linked to the 1993 bombers of the World Trade Center and to hijacker Mohamed Atta. President Bush has made his first move, insisting that Saddam Hussein "let inspectors back in his country." When a reporter asked what would happen if he didn't, Bush answered, "He'll find out." The Iraqis rejected international inspectors the following day. They should soon find out that their regime's days are numbered.

Apart from the actual terrorist hosts and masterminds are the patrons and bankrollers of terror. Topping this dirty list is our supposed friend Saudi Arabia. The Saudis have behaved guiltily since September 11, spiriting Osama bin Laden's American-based relatives back to Saudi Arabia, where the FBI could not question them; refusing to freeze the assets of bin Ladenite front groups; and denying us the use of bases we built when we were saving them during the Gulf War. Saudi Arabia is the financial spigot for jihadist madrassahs worldwide where anti-Americanism is taught and bin Laden's foot soldiers are recruited. We will reach the Rubicon when we demand of the Saudis the use of bases for operations against Iraq. If they refuse, then they will be openly taking the side of terror and should be dealt with accordingly.

If Saddam Hussein were toppled and Saudi Arabia reformed or restructured, the Middle East would be emptied of many of its poisonous humors, like a bathtub when the plug is pulled out of the drain. But Saddam Hussein can foresee these effects as well as we do. His intelligence agents, temporarily deprived of many of the tentacles of al-Qaeda, are no doubt frantically trying to prepare the use of the weapons that his scientists are developing. This war, as Bush has warned Americans, will be long, and it will involve more casualties. The alternative is to let theocrats and dictators, awash in oil money, pursue their murderous ambitions in peace.

AT WAR III

Justice in Wartime

It's been a season of frustration for liberals accustomed to flaying Republican administrations. To criticize President Bush or his conduct of the war might be seen as unpatriotic. Colin Powell is too ideologically congenial to be a target. Condoleezza Rice, while less congenial, is a black woman. Attorney General John Ashcroft, on the other hand, is a white man; better still, a conservative Christian; and he is not commanding American troops. So he can be, and has been, attacked gaily and without restraint.

Generally without much logic either. Thus Richard Cohen writes that Ashcroft has "played the heavy" in the administration's alleged assault on civil liberties. Among the examples of its assault is its announcement that it may use military tribunals to try suspected terrorists. Never mind that Ashcroft does not have jurisdiction over this matter.

In any case, there is ample legal basis and historical precedent for military tribunals. Stuart Taylor Jr., the respected legal journalist, ably summarizes the policy case for using them: "[T]he government needs a process for incapacitating and punishing presidentially accused war criminals without publicly disclosing intelligence sources and methods, without risking suppression of relevant evidence, and without inviting further terrorist attacks upon prosecutors, judges, juries, witnesses, courthouses, and U.S. citizens abroad." An example of what to avoid is the civilian trial following the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, in which classified information was released.

Taylor objects, on the other hand, to two measures that Ashcroft has taken: detaining foreigners without releasing their names, and authorizing the monitoring of detainees' conversations with their lawyers. But here, too, Ashcroft's actions are defensible, even prudent. Detainees who have committed no crime are released after seven days. If they have committed some crime—by entering the country illegally, for example—they may be held longer, which seems reasonable under the current circumstances. Attorney-client privilege, meanwhile, cannot take precedence over national security. Detained terrorists cannot be allowed to use their lawyers as conduits of information or instructions to their

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colleagues. Conversations between lawyers and their clients would not be admissible in court under Ashcroft's rules.

Finally, many liberals have objected to the Justice Department's plans to interview more than 5,000 young men who have come to the United States from certain countries. This, they say, is discriminatory. Would it be better for Justice to prolong its investigations by interviewing people whom we have no reason to suspect? Guests of our country should be treated with respect, but expected to cooperate with our law enforcement agencies. Liberals used to take pride in the motto "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country." If they now consider interviews an intolerable imposition, perhaps they should adopt a shorter slogan: "Ask not."

Reasonable questions can be raised about the details of these policies. But it is logically and morally obtuse to warn, as some have done, that they in some way compromise the moral legitimacy of our cause. This war is not being fought to vindicate the American criminal-justice system in all its faded glory; nor to protect liberal shibboleths. Those who pretend otherwise—including Europeans who are saying they will not extradite suspected terrorists to us for fear they will face military tribunals—are being dangerously short-sighted. Their short-sightedness consists of forgetting that we are at war.

■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: I have been a good friend of yours for about 40 years.

Even good friends occasionally have differences of opinion, such as regarding your position on the Panama Canal, but that did not stop me from reading *all* your Blackford Oakes books and many others.

I watched many of your *Firing Line* shows and admired your ability to stay on top of things with some of the smartest people around! The only one who came close to holding his own—and I hate to say it—was Bill Kunstler, may the devil rest his soul.

Anyway, returning to my NR renewal: My doctor recently told me that I will not be around much longer to enjoy NR. It's a pity, but there's not much I can do about it. I take this opportunity to wish you and your family health and happiness, and to give a warm good-bye to you, my friend.

I would be very happy should I receive a couple of lines from you in reply; but hurry!

With best wishes,
Robert Holt
Cliffside Park, N.J.

Dear Mr. Holt: This is going out by overnight mail in the lively hope that it not only reaches you, but finds you magically restored, so that your magnanimity and courage can bring you to write another letter like this one, ten years from now.

Gratefully,
WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: In Notes & Asides in the Oct. 15 issue, you wrote the following: "So I do 'black' or 'colored,'" etc.

I was surprised to see a noted English-language purist such as yourself use the word "do" in such a slangy way, when you surely ought to have used the word "say" instead of the overused and ill-used "do."

Cordially,
Ralph H. Trader Jr.
Wilmington, Del.

Dear Mr. Trader: At ease. It's perfectly okay, intentionally used, to say, "I do xyz" when the intention is to upgrade "I say," as, e.g., indicating that you go with a convention: "How do you greet kings?" "I do, 'Sir.'" "Oh? I say, 'Your majesty.'" Do your own thing.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Are you ready for more clerihews? Here's mine:

Almost-president Gore
Decided to try just once more
To enter the chief-exec race
So he grew hair all over his face.

Sincerely,
Arlene N. Heath
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Ms. Heath: Well . . . give me a warning next time.

(I like your clerihew fine!)

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: As a New York City native now living in the wilds of New York State, I recently realized that although New York City has five boroughs, only one is referred to as "the": *the* Bronx. Why not the Queens, the Brooklyn, etc.? I can find no one who can explain to me how, where, and why this all started, and so I turn to you.

Jack Daly
The Stony Point, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Daly: Can't explain, sorry. If you find out, tell me why *la Argentina* is like the Bronx.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: May I add to Mr. Shaw's Oct. 1 list of idiosyncrasies in English: 1) I want to read what you've read. 2) The ship had a bow on its bow. 3) I hope I live to see a live unicorn. 4) I want to contest the contest. 5) I struck my bass drum with a bass.

Douglas A. Smith
Akron, Ohio

Dear Mr. Smith: Nice!

Thanks, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: If Arabs are Semites, why is the term "anti-Semitism" applicable only to Jews?

William Dornburgh
Cooperstown, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Dornburgh: Just usage.

Cordially,

—WFB

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■ AT WAR ■

Having Their Day in (a Military) Court

How best to prosecute terrorists

ROBERT H. BORK

By Ismael Roldan

THE debate over the president's order creating military tribunals to try suspected terrorists consists largely of warring slogans and overripe rhetoric: "shredding our Constitution," "seizing dictatorial power," etc., on the one hand, and some version of "the bastards don't deserve any better" on the other. Analysis is in short supply. The issue of the balance between security and civil liberties will be with us, in various guises, for a long time to come. The reality we face means that no resolution of such issues will be wholly satisfactory.

When the issue is trying terrorists, there appear to be only four options: trial in a federal court; trial before an international tribunal; trial before a military tribunal; or setting the captives free. Nobody this side of a psychiatric ward will choose the last option. But the first and second don't win any prizes either.

Trials in federal courts have features that make them totally inappropriate for the trial of terrorists. Jurors often respond to emotional appeals, and, in any event, would have good reason to fear for their and their families' safety if they convicted. Criminal trials have been adorned by judges with a full panoply of procedural hurdles that guarantee a trial of many months. Appeals and petitions for habeas corpus can take years, and should the death sentence be given, the ACLU has shown how to delay execution for ten years or more through appeals followed by one habeas corpus petition after another. An open trial and proceedings of that length, covered by television, would be an ideal stage for an Osama bin Laden to spread his propaganda to all the Muslims in the world. Many Islamic governments would likely find that aroused mobs make it impossible to continue cooperating with the U.S.

The conclusive argument, however, is that in open trials our government would inevitably have to reveal much of our intelligence information, and about the means by which it is gathered. Charles Krauthammer notes that in the trial of the bombers of our embassies in Africa, the prosecution had to reveal that American intelligence intercepted bin Laden's satellite phone calls: "As soon as that testimony was published, Osama stopped using the satellite system and went silent. We lost him. Until Sept. 11." Disclosures in open court would inform not only Middle Eastern terrorists but all the intelligence services of the world of our methods and sources.

Trials before an international tribunal would have all of these defects and more. Picking the members of the court would itself be a diplomatic nightmare. It would be politically impossible to keep judges from Islamic countries off the court. In the past, moreover, international courts have often shown a pronounced anti-American bias. Our prosecutor would be helpless to avoid a propaganda circus and the disclosure of our intelligence capabilities and methods. In the end, convictions would be highly uncertain, but, if obtained, impassioned dissents and the martyrdom of the terrorists would be certain. We should be wary of international tribunals in any event since their establishment seems part of a more general move to erode U.S. sovereignty by subjecting our actions to control by other nations.

Military tribunals avoid or at least mitigate these problems. Propaganda by televised speeches would be impossible and any required disclosure of intelligence methods and successes would be secret. Since trials could move far more efficiently and appeals are cut off by the president's order, punishment of the guilty would be prompt. One of the prices we pay for an all-volunteer military is that for most Americans their armed forces are an unknown world about which it is possible to imagine all sorts of evils; but military tribunals are not, as they have been called, "kangaroo courts" or "drumhead tribunals." Much of the public is probably frightened by visions of defendants convicted out of hand and bustled off to firing squads.

During the Korean War, the officers in my battalion took turns prosecuting and defending. (I had a notable lack of success in both roles.) I sat on the court, and never saw an innocent man convicted but did see a guilty man acquitted. (I prosecuted that one and it still rankles.) Even then, before the widespread reform of the military justice system, military courts manned by officers, in my opinion and that of many others, were superior to the run of civilian courts, more scrupulous in examining the evidence and following the plain import of the law. If I were guilty, I would prefer a civilian jury; if innocent, a military court.

These virtues would be irrelevant if military tribunals were of dubious constitutionality. They are not. The constitutional issue reached the Supreme Court in *Ex parte Quirin* (1942). German saboteurs had entered the United States illegally to destroy war industries and facilities. Arrested by the FBI before they could act, they sought to file for writs of habeas corpus, contending they had a right to trial before regular courts rather than a military commission. The presidential proclamation establishing the commission denied them access to those courts.

Mr. Bork, an NR contributing editor, has been a Marine, lawyer, law professor, solicitor general, acting attorney general, and judge.

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The Court denied the petition, judging it irrelevant that one of the defendants might be an American citizen. In its decision, the Court made clear the separate constitutional tracks of the two forms of justice: "Presentment by a grand jury and trial by a jury . . . were at the time of the adoption of the Constitution familiar parts of the machinery for criminal trials in the civil courts. But they were procedures unknown to military tribunals which are not courts in the sense of the Judiciary Articles" of the Constitution. Consistent with that understanding, military tribunals have been used by several presidents in time of war. In the Revolutionary War, before there was a Constitution, George Washington employed such tribunals freely, as did Abraham Lincoln in the Civil War, and Franklin Roosevelt in World War II. We remember the Nuremberg trial, with many of the trappings of a civilian court, as an attempt (failed in my view) to establish an international rule of law in open proceedings. That trial is not a model for the problem we face now. There were, of course, no problems of intelligence disclosures, but, more important, the open trial was not regarded by the allies as the only, or in all cases the preferred, method of proceeding. According to Mark Martins, a respected scholar and military lawyer, "German regular army soldiers were also defendants in many of the thousands of military courts and commissions convened by the Allies after the war in different zones of occupation."

If there is a problem with Bush's order, it is the exemption of U.S. citizens from trials before military tribunals. *Quirin* held that Americans can be tried there, and it is clear that they should. The trial of American terrorists in criminal court would pose all the problems of trying foreign terrorists there: The prosecution would have to choose between safeguarding our intelligence capacity and trying the terrorist. The terrorists could well go free.

Contrary to some heated reactions, military tribunals are well within our tradition. They are needed now more than ever. **NR**

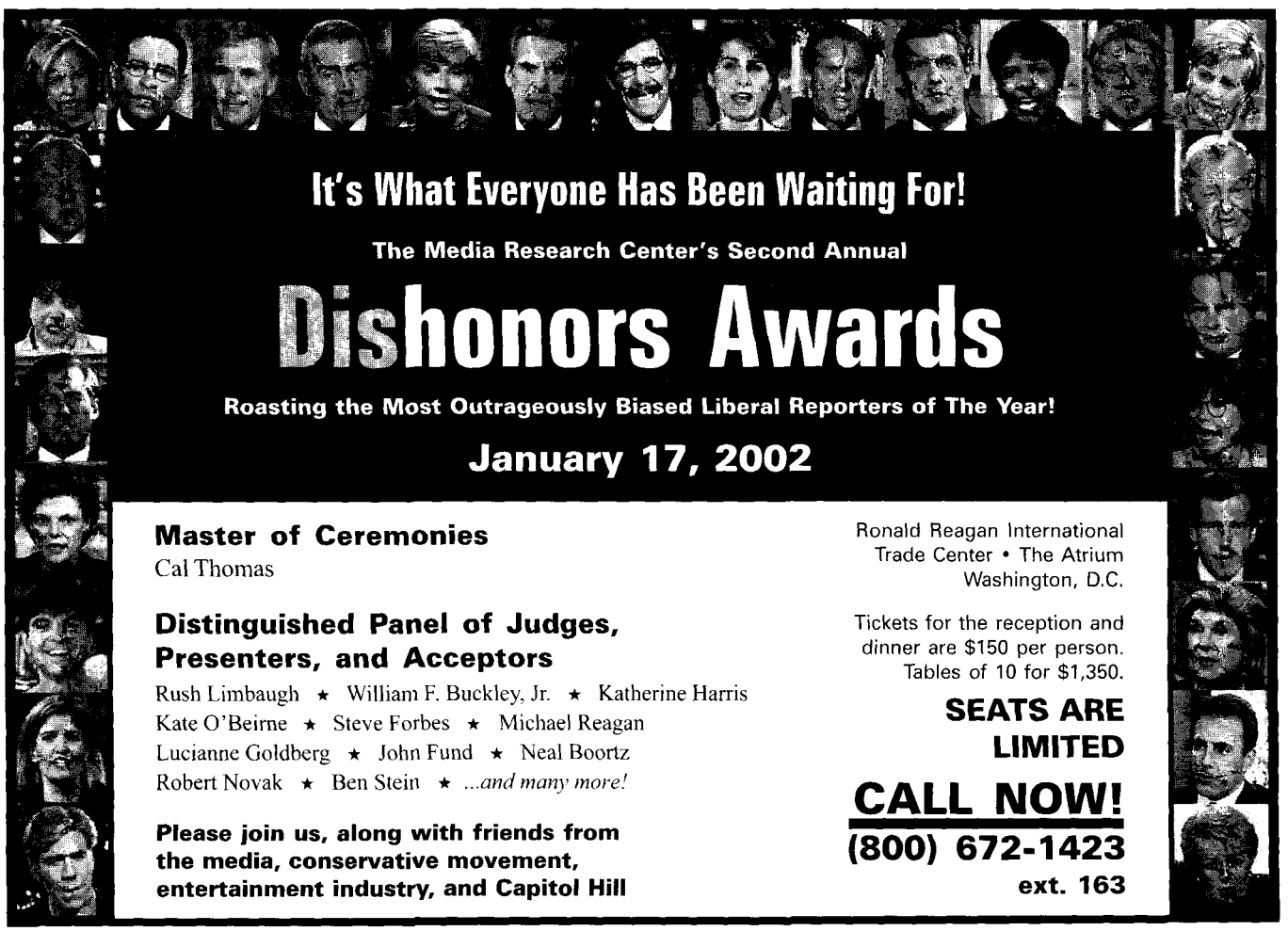
■ IMMIGRATION ■

The Mob Lawyer, Updated

One Manhattan attorney and the Chinese 'snakeheads'

JOHN. J. MILLER

FOR Chinese nationals seeking asylum in the United States during the 1990s, Manhattan lawyer Robert E. Porges was the man to see. When 286 aliens aboard the *Golden Venture* shipwrecked off a Long Island beach in 1993, Porges wound up representing most of them. Thousands of others arriving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here also made their way to Porges, who helped them file asylum applications in which they recounted harrowing stories of persecution for membership in underground churches, criticism of government officials, or resistance to mandatory abortions. The Harvard-trained Porges charged his clients up to $2,000 each for his help—he ran a law firm, not a charity—but it was a small price for the Chinese to pay considering the alternatives. He was a savior.

Or so it seemed. Now it turns out his true clients may not have been the asylum seekers at all. Instead, according to a federal indictment, Porges's paymasters were brutal crime syndicates. Last year, following a 30-month investigation, Porges, his wife, and five others in his law firm were accused of conspiring with smugglers to bring aliens into the United States and filing false asylum claims on their behalf. In August, prosecutors added six more defendants to the case and expanded the charges against Porges. Assuming the allegations are true—so far, Porges denies them—it will mean the law firm described as having the country's largest political-asylum practice will have thwarted U.S. immigration law for the better part of a decade in close coordination with Chinese mobsters.

The alleged fraud was massive, involving thousands of asylum applications. "About 80 percent of them were false," says a source knowledgeable about the case. Because the fraud consisted of so many claims, the amount of resources devoted to it would have been huge, from the simple manpower necessary to process all the forms to the complicated adjudications they required before resolution. Supporters of legal immigration like to argue that immigration isn't a zero-sum game—in other words, immigrants create jobs rather than steal them. When the question turns away from economics to law-enforcement agencies with limited budgets, however, immigration really is a zero-sum game. By snarling the immigration service to the extent that it did, the Porges firm consumed resources that might have been used to better effect in other ways—such as fighting terrorism.

Porges is hardly the first dirty immigration lawyer. In 1998, Sheldon Walker of New York was convicted of submitting thousands of false asylum claims. What makes the Porges case different—and sleazier—is the law firm's ties to vicious "snakeheads," the slang term for Chinese smugglers. Snakeheads demand up to $50,000 for their services, which involve taking immigrants on a circuitous route from China to the United States, often through several countries and over many months. By the time the immigrants set foot in America, they are usually expected to have made their payments in full. This presents a problem because the costs are so steep and the immigrants so poor. Those who are unable to secure loans from their families or Chinatown gangs aren't treated with kindness. Men sometimes enter into arrangements that can only be described as indentured servitude; women are frequently forced to work as prostitutes. Violence is routine.

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Porges's alleged fraud was massive, involving thousands of asylum applications.

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Having a lawyer like Porges on the payroll is a tremendous asset to the smuggling operations. For starters, the Porges firm advised snakeheads on "routes of entry into the United States," according to the indictment. Immigrants who were caught nevertheless had plenty of options—and many even turned themselves in. This way, they could get in touch with Porges and file phony asylum claims. The law firm tracked down others by scanning INS detention lists for names supplied by the smugglers. From an office a few blocks west of Manhattan's Chinatown, Porges ran a nationwide operation. The indictment speaks of activity not only in New York, but also California, New Orleans, and Seattle. Porges, in fact, had raised eyebrows for years. "I first encountered him in 1994 at a federal court in Arlington, Virginia," says a former INS lawyer. "He had come down from New York to represent two penniless Chinese who were plainly fresh off the boat. Who was paying for this? The answer was obvious: The snakeheads."

Lying on asylum forms is a clear exploitation of American generosity. Each year, the United States gives permanent safe haven to tens of thousands of aliens it believes will face persecution if they're made to return home. It's hard enough to determine who's telling the truth when lawyers are not helping the people they represent concoct stories—yet this is precisely what Robert E. Porges did. Paralegals at his firm would invent tall tales for the asylum applicants and have the aliens copy them into their own handwriting (which enhanced their credibility), often tailoring their lies to appeal to particular immigration judges. The indictment identifies the many creative ways Porges would have his clients plead for mercy. One claimed he faced persecution for disclosing an "official's extramarital romantic liaison" and another because "the applicant's child had written an essay protesting the forcible sterilization of the applicant." Prosecutors say these were bald-faced fabrications.

There's no way to tell from the indictment how many Porges clients were allowed to stay in the United States on the basis of false claims, but it's clear that many were in fact granted asylum. Even if Porges's clients were no more successful than typical asylum claimants—whose applications are approved roughly one-third of the time—he would have assisted in securing asylum for thousands.

Though "assisted" may not be the best word to describe it. When Porges clients were released from INS custody—a standard practice for asylum seekers whose applications are under consideration—the firm would arrange for their transportation to New York or some other location selected by the smugglers. This way, the immigrants could come under the snakeheads' control once more. They were essentially kidnapped and held hostage until they had paid their entire smuggling fee. A legal aide who worked with *Golden Venture* passengers told *Newsday* that one of Porges's clients, right after being released from detention, was seen being forced into a car—and has not been heard from since.

Prosecutors say the Porges firm earned more than $13 million in fees from the smugglers, but the greed apparently didn't stop there. It also kept a cash payroll in order to avoid taxes and filed false statements with the IRS.

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The trial was originally set to begin this fall, but it was delayed until March because the defendants asked for more time to study a growing list of indictments. Porges may think he can win, but the prosecutors appear to have a strong case comprised of documentary evidence seized from the firm and cooperating witnesses. The net is tightening in other ways, too. In a separate Virginia case that concluded in November, Mark Kuang pled guilty to smuggling charges and was sentenced to nine years in prison by a federal court. He was part of a syndicate that brought some 2,000 Chinese into the country illegally between 1991 and 2000, for at least $60 million. In his guilty statement, Kuang pointed his finger directly at "a law firm working for the syndicate"—i.e., the Porges firm.

Busting the Chinese smuggling rings won't be easy. The people being smuggled, after all, are paying customers—they want to be smuggled—and confessing their true stories to immigration officials raises the prospect of deportation. What's more, they put their own lives and the lives of their families at risk by turning into informants.

One tactic to combat alien-smuggling may be to rethink asylum policy, which developed during the Cold War. Traditionally nobody questioned what people had to do in order to get to the United States and request asylum. If a person forged a passport to slip through the Iron Curtain, for instance, the "crime" of forgery would not be held against him. But given the pervasiveness of alien-smuggling—and the sophisticated Porges-style fraud apparently behind it—reviewing this policy may make sense. Perhaps those who have allowed themselves to be smuggled into the United States by violent criminal organizations should face somewhat stricter scrutiny than they have in the past.

It may be one of the few effective ways of fighting a phenomenon that comes as close to the African slave trade as anything this country has seen since the 19th century. Refusing even to consider it would send a clear invitation to the snakeheads and their collaborators in the legal world to keep on taking advantage of us. **NR**

■ **CULTURE WATCH** ■

Studyin' War Some More

What there is to learn, and re-learn

JOHN DERBYSHIRE

THE issue of the London *Spectator* dated March 24 of this year ran a special section on the military, its place in British society, and its future prospects. The lead-off piece was by historian Niall Ferguson, author of a fine book, *The Pity of War*, about World War I. In his article, Ferguson deplored the "demilitarization" of Britain, and the profound implications of that phenomenon not only for the nation's security, but for her *culture*. He complained of the difficulty he was having indoctrinating his sons with any sense of military values or virtues: "In vain have I visited toyshops in an effort to equip them with some serious plastic weaponry. It is a great deal easier to buy merchandise inspired by *Star Wars* than by any real wars."

The issue drew some rather scathing mail from German readers, pointing out that, even allowing for the Blitz, the British experience of war has been radically milder than continental Europe's, where all those nations engaged in the world wars of the last century had endured the shocks of defeat and occupation—"being bossed around by armed foreigners," as one reader expressed it. They have a point, of course; but if Britain has been excluded from the worst war has to offer, how much more so the United States, whose cities, prior to September 11, had never been attacked from the air?

What do we know of war? Even our military men now have less combat experience than at any time in the nation's history. America's wars of the 1980s and 1990s were small affairs, the battles brief and extraordinarily one-sided, involving comparatively tiny numbers of combatants. The youngest Vietnam veterans are now nudging fifty; the youngest Korean War veterans are in their mid sixties; the youngest WWII veterans are well into their seventies. Samuel Johnson observed that "every man thinks meanly of himself for not having been a soldier, or not having been at sea." I doubt if this still applies, since the experience of not having been a soldier is now so nearly universal.

The experience of war is kept alive for us in books and movies, of course, but it is in the nature of such things that we get a selective impression. *Saving Private Ryan* was a very fine movie, but it probably left large numbers of young people believing that wars are won solely by brave men storming beaches and engaging the enemy face-to-face. Tom Brokaw's 1998 bestseller *The Greatest Generation* broadened the canvas a little, showing nurses, engineers, and union organizers. Now, it is certainly true that WWII could not have been won without the heroic efforts of combat infantrymen and those who supported them at home; but these images we have been getting the past few years have tended to gloss over, or leave out altogether, other factors in the 1945 victory. There was the terror-bombing of enemy cities, for example—a strategy about which many allied war leaders, notably Churchill, had serious moral qualms, and whose precise military value is still the subject of debate. The experience of being an urban civilian on the receiving end of a 1,000-bomber incendiary raid has received very little attention from movie producers and has not figured at all in the "greatest generation" productions; neither, for that matter, has the grueling and horrible but un-photogenic business of keeping the Atlantic sea-lanes open, recreated so unsparingly in Nicholas Monsarrat's 1951 novel *The Cruel Sea*. For all that we flatter ourselves about the realism of

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The images we have been getting the past few years have tended to gloss over other factors in the 1945 victory.

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You deserve a factual look at...

Those "Palestinian Refugees"

Who are they, what is the real story?

Although, in view of the violence of the Palestinians, negotiations with them would seem fruitless, or at least a long way off, one issue that will arise again is that of the "Palestinian Refugees." It has been a sticking point in past negotiations and will without question arise again. These "refugees" are the children and mostly grandchildren of those who left Israel during the 1948 War of Independence. Yasser Arafat insists that there can be no peace unless those "refugees" are allowed to "return" to Israel.

What are the facts?

650,000 "refugees" swell to 5 million. You have heard about those "Palestinian refugees", who claim "right of return" to Israel. Of course, virtually none of them ever lived in Israel -- they are the children and mostly grandchildren of those who fled in 1948. The total number of those who fled in 1948 is estimated to have been about 650,000. Now the number who wish to return has swollen to almost five million!

How did this exodus come about? In 1948, on the day of the proclamation of the State of Israel, five Arab armies invaded the new country from all sides. In frightful radio broadcasts, they urged the Arabs living there to leave, so that the invading armies could operate without interference. They could return after the expected quick victory in that "holy war", get their property back -- *and* that of the Jews. Things turned out differently. The invading armies were defeated. Those who had left became refugees -- people without a country. Those who stayed, and their children, are full-fledged citizens of the state of Israel.

> The Arabs are committed not to allow any "non-believers" to be in control of any part of the Middle East. That is the real cause of the "Palestinian refugee problem."

These so-called "Palestinian refugees" have not been allowed to settle in the "indivisible Arab nation". They have been supported in camps since 1948. So far, close to $1.8 billion has been spent on their maintenance. No end is in sight. Who pays for that? You guessed it: Through UNWRA Relief, the United States contributes more than 60% of the total cost.

The Arab countries, among them some of the richest in the world who fritter away their enormous fortunes on undreamed luxuries, are satisfied to leave their Arab brethren in those miserable camps. They have never contributed a penny to their maintenance.

Another side of the "refugee" story. But there is another side to the "refugee" story. Little is heard of the 800,000 Jewish refugees from Arab countries, who fled those countries to settle in the newly formed Jewish State of Israel. Every one of those refugees was immediately accepted, resettled, taken care of, and given full citizenship by the fledgling, impoverished, and embattled Jewish State. There never has been, and there certainly is not now, a Jewish "refugee" camp in Israel or anywhere else.

The Arab "refugees" who fled Israel left little wealth and little history, since most of them had not come to "Palestine" until Jewish settlers opened economic opportunities in what had been a desolate country for centuries. But the Jews of Arab lands have a history going back thousands of years. When forced to flee, they left behind land, wealth, and a long history. They arrived in Israel, quite literally only "with their shirts on their backs." They now make up almost 60% of the vibrant and productive population of Israel. What have the Arabs, the richest people in the world, done with their "refugees" in more than 50 years? They have kept them in misery, on the dole of the world, and have taught their hopeless youth the "skills" of suicide missions and of slaughtering defenseless and unarmed men, women, and children.

If the Arab nations truly decided to make peace with Israel and to put an end to the century-long strife, they could easily accomplish it by accepting the "Palestinian refugees" in their countries and, just as Israel did with Jewish refugees from Arab countries, integrating them into their societies and making useful citizens of them. In fact, acceptance in their countries might also be offered to the Israeli Arabs, who, despite enjoying a higher standard of living, education, and health than Arabs in any of the surrounding countries and despite having the same civil rights as Israeli Jews, are not happy to live in a Jewish state.

Population transfers are common, especially in the wake of wars. They have been practiced throughout history. In 1923, Greece and Turkey agreed to the resettlement of 2 million Greeks and 800,000 Turks; in 1945, the resettlement of 3 million Germans from Poland and Czechoslovakia was arranged. Following the collapse of its North African empire, France accepted close to 1.5 million people. More than 12 million (!) Muslims and Hindus were exchanged between India and Pakistan. Israel has recognized this historical necessity. The "Arab Nation", with its enormous wealth and vast under-populated lands, has stubbornly refused to face facts.

It is clear that the "Palestinian refugee problem" is a red herring, kept alive by the Arab nations for their political purposes, and with cynical disregard for the great number of impoverished people who live in these camps. It is being kept alive and is being used as a "non-negotiable" bargaining chip, for the purpose of destroying the State of Israel -- a feat that the Arabs have attempted several times by military means, but which has always ended in disastrous failure. Apart from the unsolvable social problems it would create, the introduction of, say, even one-half of the 5 million who claim to be "refugees" would, with one stroke, dramatically alter the demographic makeup of the country and would inevitably destroy the Jewish State. That is of course the whole idea behind the demand for the "return of the refugees". If the Arab nations were willing to solve the "refugee problem", the legitimacy of Israel could no longer be questioned. But that is not acceptable to the Arabs. They are firmly committed not to allow Israel or any "non-believers" to be in control of any part of the Middle East. It is that, and that alone, which is the real cause of the "Palestinian refugee problem."

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recent war movies like *Ryan* and *The Thin Red Line*, we have slipped into a popular conception of warfare as romanticized, in its own way, as the *Song of Roland*.

I confess I never felt much at ease with the "greatest generation" promotions. Sure, it was good to see the old folk being honored for the sacrifices they made in turning back the mid-20th-century advances of barbarism. Yet there was something smug about it all, something self-congratulatory and . . . *boomer*. It was as if the postwar elites were saying to their parents: "Yes, we scoffed at your values and ignored your sacrifice. When we weren't actually denouncing the military virtues, we were steering as far clear of them as we could. Certainly we never showed any fondness for them, and brought forward as the first president from our generation a man who held them in open contempt. But, hey, that was then and we've, like, moved on." Nor have boomer moviemakers altogether shaken off the mindset they left college with: It is interesting to recall that Spielberg promoted *Ryan* in the first place as an antiwar movie. Neither *Ryan* nor any other recent movie has included, on the allied side at any rate, a war-lover personality of the Patton type. Such people are rare, no doubt; but they are probably essential to victory. Tom Hanks's Captain Miller and his unit are all more or less reluctant soldiers, doing their dogged duty in a spirit of "the sooner this is over, the sooner I can get home to things I really care about." That is a common attitude among fighting men, probably a majority attitude in conscript armies; but it is not the only one possible, nor the one that is most useful in actually winning wars. GIs in the Pacific used to boil the flesh from severed Japanese heads and send the skulls home to their girlfriends. You won't see *that* in a Spielberg movie, nor the frame of mind that engendered it.

Perhaps it is the dim awareness of these truths, post-September 11, that caused the HBO movie miniseries *Band of Brothers* to perform below expectations after being showered with critical praise. HBO executives are putting a brave face on this, saying that by any standards but the ones expected of it, the series—whose executive producers were Steven Spielberg and Tom Hanks—didn't do badly at all. (Ratings were lower than for *The Sopranos* but about the same as for *Sex and the City*.) The first episode aired on September 9, and the studio pulled all publicity for two weeks after the terror attacks. That can't have helped any; nor can the last episode's having to go up against a crucial World Series game. Even after making these allowances, though, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the appeal of even the most "realistic" war movie fades somewhat when obliged to compete with images of real war.

■

I never felt much at ease with the 'greatest generation' promotions. There was something smug about it all.

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It may be, of course, that we don't actually *need* to know much about war. While any of us might be visited at any time by random horrors like those of September 11, long, grinding struggles between mighty nations, fully mobilized, are inconceivable nowadays, at any rate to us; but not, perhaps, to others. Niall Ferguson's difficulties finding war toys for his son came to my mind when I was in China this summer. It happened that we were in a large Manchurian city, staying with Chinese relatives, at the time of my son's sixth birthday. The lad's doting grandpa wished to buy him a present, so off we all went to the city's main department store. Invited to select from the toys on display, my son went unhesitatingly for a large and hideous green plastic gun that gave forth, along with very realistic automatic-fire sounds, a voice yelling (in Chinese): "Fire! Get down! Cha-a-a-arge!" Later in the trip, in a different store, I myself treated him to another toy that had got his attention: a small model plane made entirely of real 9mm rounds, emptied of their propellant and detonators and soldered together. That a six-year-old boy is attracted to such things, and that a powerful nation with a billion people sells them to its children, suggests that humanity's long engagement with war, including even traditional wars between nations, still has some way to run yet. **NR**

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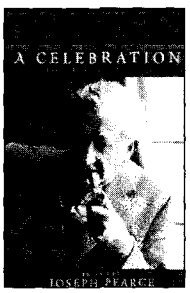

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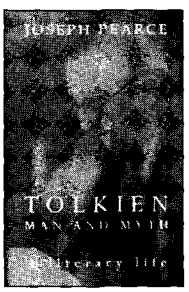

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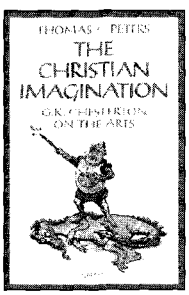

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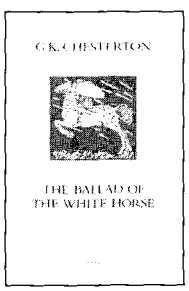

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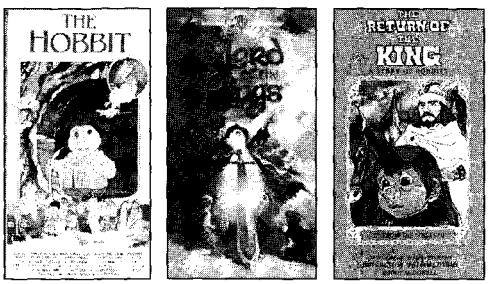

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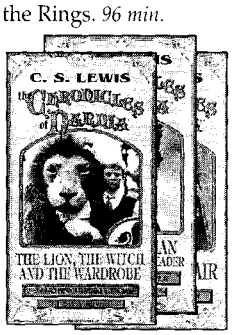

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■ COVER STORY ■

Did You Say 'American Imperialism'?

Power, weakness, and choices in the Middle East

BERNARD LEWIS

In February 1991, as the defeated and shattered forces of Saddam Hussein were fleeing back into Iraq, the military commanders and political leaders of the victorious coalition faced a number of choices. One of these was to pursue and destroy Saddam's Republican Guard, the main prop of the regime. This, some argued at the time, could be done quickly and would enable the Iraqi people and perhaps even much of the Iraqi army to rise against Saddam and overthrow the regime. Others, more cautious, believed that to achieve any real change it would be necessary to advance on Baghdad, occupy the capital, and preside over the installing of a friendly regime. Opponents of this policy argued that such a regime would require continuing support—a military presence, at least for a while, and an ambassador with vice-regal authority. This, they said, would be the imperial method, as used by the British and French, and more recently, in a much harsher form, by the Russians and the Chinese. But the imperial way was not the way of the Americans, who lacked the desire—and some would add the skills—for such a policy.

President Bush decided to end hostilities after a hundred hours on the ground. Like the Israel–Arab Six Day War of 1967, this war was concluded without the occupation of an enemy capital or the overthrow of an enemy regime. America's war aims had been accomplished. They included the liberation of Kuwait from foreign occupation and of Saudi Arabia from the threat of invasion. They did not include the liberation of Iraq from domestic tyranny.

In the Kurdish area adjoining the Turkish frontier, however, the United States joined in establishing a "safe haven" to protect the Kurds from Saddam Hussein's vengeance and the neighbors from an influx of refugees. A couple of years later, the Kurdish factions briefly joined forces and, under the leadership of the Iraqi National Congress, the democratic opposition, sought some American indication of sympathy for their proposal to establish a provisional government of Iraq in the zone.

They received neither encouragement nor support. The scheme had some merit, and there were many indications that the Iraqi National Congress could draw on broad national support—including much of the military—in establishing a free Iraq.

But it did not happen. The Kurdish factions, because of American indecision, resumed their quarreling, making the position of the Iraqi democratic opposition increasingly difficult and the government of the United States increasingly reluctant to become involved. Such an involvement, again, would have been the imperial way—and was therefore unacceptable, above all to the Americans themselves. Rather than risk the possibility of having to station a garrison in Iraq, the administration preferred what it seemed at the time a smaller and simpler option: to leave Iraq to Saddam Hussein, and to station troops in Saudi Arabia, at the invitation of the rulers of that country, to protect them from a renewed Iraqi attack.

'INFIDELS' ON 'HOLY' LAND

This simpler option brought unforeseen complications. For Christians and Jews, the term "Holy Land" refers to the country that has been known, at various stages in its history, as Canaan, Israel, Judea, and Palestine, in which the early formative events of Jewish and Christian history took place. For Muslims, some of these events have some importance, but the true "Holy Land" is Arabia, where the Prophet Muhammad was born, lived and died, and promulgated the Koran. During the great days of the British Empire, the British nibbled at the edges of Arabia—Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, Aden—but took care not to land troops on the holy soil of the Prophet's homeland. The presence of American oilmen was accepted, however reluctantly, because they were necessary, for a while at least, to extract and market the oil. The presence of American troops—even by invitation, even to defend the Saudis against aggression—was more difficult to swallow, and was the first and main casus belli in Osama bin Laden's declaration of war against the United States. Osama bin Laden and his followers define the American enemy not as imperialists but as

Mr. Lewis is professor emeritus of Near Eastern studies at Princeton University. His current book is *Music of a Distant Drum: Classical Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Hebrew Poems* (Princeton University Press). His next book is *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response*, due from Oxford University Press in January.

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Crusaders (an earlier offender). They have no objection to imperial domination as such, provided that it is the true believers who rule the unbelievers, and not the reverse. This was what happened a thousand years ago, when the Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad ruled a vast and expanding empire, and five hundred years ago, when the Ottoman sultans in Constantinople took over the leadership of Islam and seemed ready to incorporate Europe in their imperial domains. Now the leadership of Christendom has passed from Europe to America, and for Osama bin Laden, as emerges clearly from his writings and utterances, the important point about American imperialism is that it is in decline, and due to share the fate of Rome and Byzantium.

Imperial rule, from the days of the Romans to that of the Soviets, may bring peace and order—the classical prototype is the Pax Romana—but at the price of foreign domination. At the present time, this is a deal in which neither side, American or Middle Eastern, has declared any interest. The foreign policy of the United States, like that of any other sovereign state, is—one presumes—primarily concerned with the defense and advancement of national interests, and for most Americans there are only two such in the Middle East: the supply of oil and the survival of Israel. The survival of Israel can be left to the Israelis, who request financial and some technological help, but not military support. The supply of oil is a more complex business. Some argue that whoever controls the oil will have to sell it and that we need not therefore concern ourselves with regional political squabbles. Some, while recognizing that such squabbles might endanger the supply, nevertheless maintain that since other countries—notably in Europe and the Far East—consume a far larger proportion of Middle Eastern oil than does the United States, it is their responsibility to maintain order. There is however some doubt whether they have the will or the power to discharge this responsibility. The prevailing view is that only the United States is able to maintain political stability in the oil-producing countries and, in particular, to prevent the monopolization of Middle Eastern oil by an aggressive dictator. This, it is argued, requires the protection of existing regimes, at least from external attack.

The message that U.S. actions and utterances in 1991 and after communicated to Saddam Hussein was very clear: Don't touch Kuwait or Saudi Arabia or in any other way interfere with the supply of oil. What you do in the north is not our concern—but don't be too obvious about it. A civil war between rival Iraqi factions would call for no involvement on our part unless our own vital interests were threatened.

This position—the reverse of the much-cited hegemonic approach—was well understood by the coalition allies and especially the Arab governments, and may help to explain their extremely cautious responses. Some, for example the Saudis, are alleged to have preferred it that way, though this has been denied. They and other Arab governments might have been willing to support a really determined effort to deal effectively with Saddam Hussein, such as they mistakenly expected in 1990. They will not risk the discontents of their own populations merely in order to support a severely limited action in defense of limited U.S. national interests—an action that would be sufficient to annoy but not to destroy Saddam Hussein, and would leave them, perhaps unaided, to face his anger and his vengeance. A military action carefully designed so as neither to suffer casualties nor to inflict them on the

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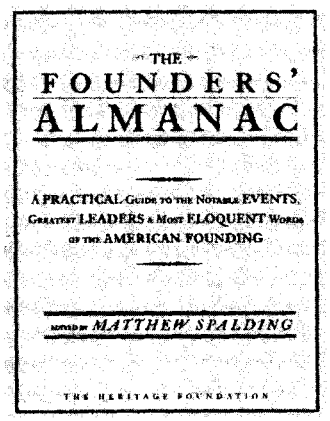
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enemy may be seen as a noble example of civilized compassion. It does not, however, carry much conviction among regimes where such qualms are not shared or even understood. They would attribute such restraint to reasons other than compassion, and draw the appropriate inferences. These inferences—of fear and irresolution—would be reinforced by U.S. actions like the withdrawal of the Marines from Lebanon in March 1984 and of the troops from Somalia ten years later. In the view of most Americans, these were sent on missions of mercy, in countries where no real American interests were involved. They were withdrawn when the intended beneficiaries proved murderously ungrateful. The idea that any American government would wish to add Somalia to its responsibilities is mistaken to the point of absurdity. In the view of many Middle Easterners, however, these Americans were engaged in an imperialist adventure. When attacked, they flinched and fled.

TO DESTROY EN MASSE

Saddam Hussein's pursuit of weapons of mass destruction raises another issue. The possession of such weapons is clearly his first priority. For it, he is willing to sacrifice the health and lives of countless Iraqis, through the effect of sanctions that he could end at any time simply by complying with U.N. resolutions and with the terms of the 1991 cease-fire. Even without ending his defiance, he could still have spared his people suffering by using his not inconsiderable income to fund life rather than death. No less significant, though rarely mentioned, is his willingness to sacrifice his conventional weaponry to the same purpose. In tanks, guns, and the like, the Iraqi armed forces are in a parlous state. They are probably good enough to deal with ill-equipped and unaided rebels or neighbors, but not good enough to confront a serious military adversary.

The ruthless quest for non-conventional weapons, by Saddam and also, one may add, by the rulers of Iran, reflects their assessment of what happened in 1991, and the conclusions they drew from it. The swift and overwhelming American victory confirmed the lessons of earlier wars—that a pre-modern army, however richly provided with modern weaponry, cannot equal the army of a modern state, and, therefore, that a head-on military confrontation with such a state or states would inevitably end in defeat.

But there was a political as well as a military lesson drawn from the events of 1990-91. Already at the time, it was clear that American opinion was far from unanimous on the need to force Saddam out of Kuwait, and that it was only by a narrow margin that the U.S. decided to intervene in this inter-Arab conflict. In Iraq and also in Iran, it was deduced at the time that had Saddam already possessed a nuclear or comparable deterrent, the U.S. would have decided that intervention in an ultimately marginal affair was not worth the risk, and would therefore have left Kuwait—and the Middle East—to their fate. Such a deduction, certainly plausible and possibly correct, underlies the frantic search in both countries for weapons of mass destruction. With America on the sidelines and no other outside power capable—as yet—of intervening, the way would be open for an unimpeded Middle Eastern showdown. The real threat to the peace of the region is not the American presence, but the possibility of an American loss of interest and withdrawal. It may be recalled that the only confirmed use of chemical weapons since World War II has been in the Middle East—by Nasser in Yemen in the Sixties, by Qaddafi in Chad in 1987, and by Saddam against Iran and against his own countrymen in 1988. At least 5,000 of the latter were killed. All these attacks were against local adversaries, incapable of retaliation.

All this does not of course prevent the usual Middle Eastern accusations of "American imperialism"—a charge that reveals an imperfect understanding, not only of American policy, but also of the nature of imperialism. Perhaps because of some similarities of language and institutions, there is a widespread illusion in the Middle East that the United States is the old British Empire back in business, with new top management and a new head office. Some, in the radical Islamist camp, look back to more remote antecedents, and see the Americans as the leaders of Christendom, the successors of the Christian emperors and the Crusaders in the millennial struggle of the two world religions for world supremacy. This view emerges very clearly in the various writings of Osama bin Laden. For those who see the world in those terms, neither the American defense of Muslim Kosovo nor the Russian attack on Muslim Chechnya affects the basic reality of America's primacy. Even for those who may not believe this explicitly, both their accusations and their expectations seem to indicate some such assumption—often coupled, without concern for consistency, with the denunciation of a satanic America as the fountainhead of immorality and depravity in the world.

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The real threat to the peace of the region is not the American presence, but the possibility of an American loss of interest and withdrawal.

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Such assumptions are of course profoundly, indeed absurdly, false. But they are natural enough—perhaps indeed inevitable. In the Middle East, as elsewhere in the world, it is always much easier to blame others for what goes wrong than to accept responsibility oneself. So much has gone wrong—and who else is there to blame? The British and French empires have long since departed. The Russians, who once shared and contested responsibility with the United States, have, at least for the time being, been reduced to a lesser and sometimes even supportive role, and no one remains but the United States, the only surviving candidate for the heavy role of imperialist arch-villain. Resentment of America as the sole surviving superpower, capable of unilateral political or military action when and where it chooses, is normal enough, and is not limited to the Middle East. There as elsewhere, the fear and envy of America are based less on American actions than on a kind of projection—the expectation that America will act as they themselves would act if they possessed America's power. But in the Middle East, anti-Americanism is nourished not so much by America's power as by the sources of that power—America's freedom and plenty. These are seen as a constant threat to the shabby dictatorships that rule much of the region, and—more accurately—as a constant temptation to their oppressed and

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deprived peoples. This is true even of regimes that profess friendship and receive military or financial support from the United States, but allow vicious anti-American propaganda in their controlled media. The threat is more acutely felt by regimes like that of Iran, whose policies are resolutely anti-American and whose people therefore look to America with sympathy and hope.

THE FEELING IN 'THE STREET'

For America to seek friendship or even good relations with such regimes is a forlorn hope. But to win respect is both possible and necessary. Generally speaking, popular good will towards the United States is in inverse proportion to the policies of their governments. In countries like Saudi Arabia and Egypt, with governments seen as American allies, the popular mood is violently anti-American, and it is surely significant that the majority of known hijackers and terrorists come from these countries. In Iran and Iraq, with governments seen as anti-American, public opinion is pro-American. The joy displayed by the Afghan people at the ending of Taliban rule could be repeated, on a larger scale, in both these countries. It is no doubt for this reason that the Afghan festival of liberation—unveiled women, beardless men, and the rest—has not been found newsworthy in most of the Middle East.

Some, especially among the more sophisticated politicians, are aware of American reluctance and perhaps even unconcern. But not all. One is constantly astonished at the conviction of even educated and otherwise rational Middle Easterners that everything that happens in their region—including the Khomeini revolution, the Lebanese kidnappings, and the Iraqi attack on Kuwait—is part of a deep-laid, long-term American strategy pursued relentlessly over decades. For anyone with even a minimal acquaintance with how Washington works and how Washington officials deal with problems, such a view is not only absurd; it is grotesque. But for many it remains an article of faith, and a refusal to accept it is seen as evidence of either naïveté or duplicity.

These charges persist, and there are others, less explicit, that reveal a similar misreading. Thus, for example, the accusation is often made, not only against the United States but against the West in general, that they have a "double standard." This is a most unfair accusation—why should we be limited to only two standards? Obviously, the U.S. government, like every other, has not a double but multiple standards to deal with differing and changing situations.

A comparable charge is the lack of "evenhandedness." This again rests on a total misunderstanding of the situation. Evenhandedness is a desirable quality in judges, juries, police forces, and other agencies of law enforcement. It is also appropriate to an imperial suzerain, trying to maintain some balance between contending protégés and native princes. But it is irrelevant to the policies of a power protecting its interests as best it can in a dangerous and troubled region. The real thrust of these complaints is not that America is pursuing imperialist policies, but that America is failing to live up to its imperial responsibilities.

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A similar misunderstanding affects the perception of and the desire for an American role as "honest broker" in Middle Eastern disputes, notably the Arab–Israel conflict. Here there is an important distinction to be made between the roles of facilitator and mediator. In the secret bilateral negotiations and agreements between President Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Begin of Israel that preceded Sadat's public declaration, the King of Morocco and President Ceausescu of Romania rendered valuable services in arranging meetings and ensuring the necessary secrecy, but played no part in the actual peace process. Mediation is another matter. The role of mediator can be both honorable and useful, and the United States has, on occasion, rendered signal service to the warring parties. But on the whole they are likely to do better when they meet face to face, preferably in secret. With a superpower mediator, the parties will tend to negotiate with the mediator rather than with each other. This is specially relevant to the Israel–Palestine conflict, where the ultimate issue is the survival or destruction of a nation. Any arrangement short of this is seen as temporary and provisional. On the basic issue, clearly, there is no possibility of compromise or even of meaningful negotiation. In this context, the call for an American role can only mean a call for decision and enforcement—for a truly imperial role. And this in turn leads, inevitably, to renewed charges of double standards and lack of evenhandedness.

■

In the Israel–Palestine conflict, the ultimate issue is the survival or destruction of a nation. How to compromise or even negotiate?

■

It is not difficult to document both charges—for example, in the different policies pursued towards Israel and most of the Arab states; more dramatically, in the West's inconsistencies, as between the different Arab states, in accepting, tolerating, or condemning human-rights abuses perpetrated by friendly, neutral, or hostile governments.

But such charges are, in a profound sense, irrelevant. If "evenhandedness" means treating all alike, it would be a manifestly suicidal policy for any kind of government, American or other, to pursue. In the Middle East as in most other places, one is expected to help one's friends and to harm one's enemies. This is well understood, and was classically formulated, a thousand years ago, by the Arab moralist Ibn Hazm: "He who treats friends and enemies alike will arouse distaste for his friendship and contempt for his enmity." The occasional American tendency to harry friends and court enemies causes *understandable* bewilderment, and, for lack of a more rational explanation, arouses fear of deep-laid, far-reaching plots.

TO BE RID OF OIL

In time, the advance of science and technology, which first made oil necessary, will make it obsolete, and replace it with cleaner, cheaper, and more accessible sources of energy. When that happens, oil wealth will no longer be available to sustain tyranny at home and finance terror abroad, and the outside world will no doubt view the struggles and upheavals of the Middle East with the same calm detachment—or as some might put it, callous indifference—as it now views the civil wars in Somalia and Sierra Leone. Until then, the consumer countries—Europe and the Far East much more than the U.S.—will be anxiously dependent on whoever rules the oil wells and the oil routes, and will have to devise and apply their policies accordingly. It will be neither a safe nor an easy task.

Meanwhile it is not sufficiently realized that a major change is taking place in American government policy and more profoundly in American national attitudes towards the Middle East. During the Cold War, the overriding American interest in the Middle East as elsewhere in the world was to prevent Soviet penetration and domination. American concern about Soviet intentions towards the Middle East began in 1945, when the Soviets, as part of the victorious alliance, presented territorial demands against Turkey and tried to establish a Soviet puppet state in northwestern Iran. The CENTO pact was created to answer this threat; so too the expansion of NATO to Greece and Turkey. The problem became acute in the 1950s with the rapid spread and entrenchment of Soviet power in Egypt and then in some other Arab countries. It is sometimes forgotten nowadays that the closer American strategic relationship with Israel was a consequence, not a cause, of Soviet successes in the Arab world. Before that, American policy towards Israel had been cautious, and American support limited—far less, for example, than that of the Soviet Union in the early years and later of France, whose planes and weaponry made possible the Israeli victory in the Six Day War. The Soviet threat remained a constant preoccupation, and American policy in the region was primarily concerned with meeting it.

This aim was successfully accomplished, and there can be little doubt that without American involvement the Middle East would have fallen under Soviet domination and shared the fate, at best of Eastern Europe, more probably of the Central Asian and Transcaucasian republics.

But that is over and finished, and there is no present external threat. At some future time the Middle East may again be threatened by a new domination from outside; perhaps by a resurgent Russia, perhaps by a superpower China. Indeed, if the various governments and peoples of the Middle East continue in their present self-destructive way, the neighboring greater powers may be drawn, even without deliberate purpose, into the politics of the region.

But this is not likely in the immediate future, and for the time being the peoples of the Middle East, or more precisely, the governments that rule them, are free to determine their own fates. This means also to make their own mistakes and suffer the consequences.

In the theater of Middle Eastern politics, the United States is cast in several roles—sometimes as arbiter and enforcer, i.e., as suzerain; more often, and more popularly, as villain and scapegoat—and is variously denounced, sometimes by the same people, for claiming and shirking an imperial mission. The range of American policy options in the region is being reduced to two alternatives, both disagreeable: Get tough or get out. **NR**

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Getting Saddam

Fear not confrontation, then liberation

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

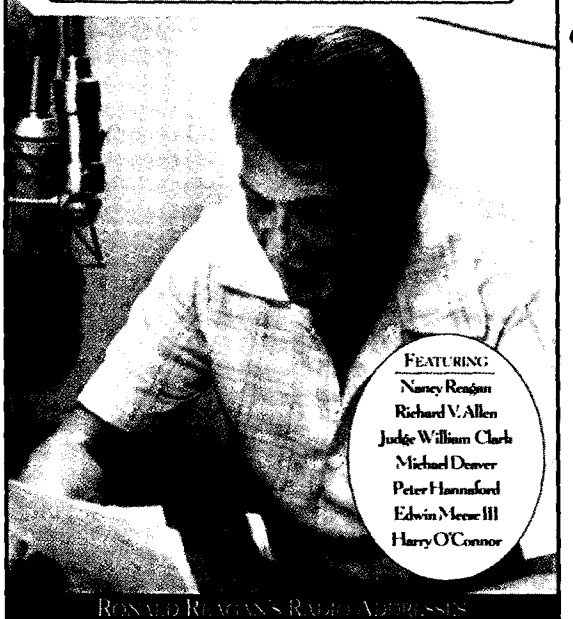
THE war against terror is swinging round the points of the compass. The needle shows Yemen, apparently, Somalia (again), and Sudan. This is reminiscent of earlier international wars waged against slavery and piracy, when the British navy took the lead bombarding harbors and attacking ships in various waters, off black Africa, and the Barbary Coast and the Pirate Coast, otherwise known as Algeria and the Gulf. Nation-building was not in the order of the day. How the various African and Arab potentates organized their affairs was up to them, so long as they accepted what were already becoming international codes of decent conduct. Some still did not fall into line until the redcoats marched up to their citadels. Had rulers on all continents synchronized efforts to eradicate barbarism, there would have been no colonialism.

Which brings us straight to the Iraq of Saddam Hussein. Somalia, Sudan, and Yemen are all very well, but along with Afghanistan they are customary tribal societies without effective centralized government, and states in name alone. Iraq is another proposition. It is a highly centralized police state under a dictator who is a danger to himself, to his people, and to everyone within his steadily lengthening reach. The outcome of the war on terror as a whole, and the future of the Middle East, depend on the decision about Saddam that President Bush and his administration must soon make.

The case against Saddam needs no arguing. His terrorist crimes have disgraced the twenty-three years in which he has been in power. Erecting a monument to his own brutal ego, he has beggared and bludgeoned his unfortunate country. Sunni Muslims constitute about a quarter of the population. Himself a Sunni, Saddam rules through fellow Sunnis, politicized as the Ba'ath party and militarized as the Republican Guard. Known to have acquired weapons of mass destruction, he has invaded neighboring Iran and Kuwait; he has gassed Iranian soldiers and Kurds; he has fired Scud missiles at Israel (and now helps to finance the Palestinian intifada). At the conclusion of the Gulf War ten years ago, former president Bush and his allies had the chance to overthrow Saddam. The Revolutionary Guards were routed, and Baghdad lay open. On the grounds that there was no United Nations mandate for it, the decision was made

Mr. Pryce-Jones, an NR senior editor, is the author of *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs*, just reprinted by Ivan R. Dee.

REAGAN
IN HIS OWN VOICE



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against invasion and the closure of Saddam's regime. So the victory of Operation Desert Storm dwindled into a rancorous stalemate.

Iraqis, Washington argued at the time, had to take their fate into their own hands. Accordingly, Iraqi Shia Muslims and Kurds—the remaining three-quarters of the population—rose in a rebellion that they did not have the means to win. Saddam dealt ruthlessly with them, shelling Shia shrines and killing yet more of his citizens in their thousands. For a time, an opposition survived with American support in a safe haven in the Kurd-populated north. That support counted for nothing when Saddam moved to eliminate the safe haven. Allowing this to happen unimpeded, the United States heedlessly inflicted another injury on itself and its friends. An opposition in exile, the Iraqi National Congress, has some influence in Washington, and access to funds voted by Congress, but its members are generals without armies, cut off from the Iraqi population.

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What bin Laden and Saddam share is a hatred for the United States and its 'arrogance,' and they seek its destruction.

■

The United Nations has spent the years of these blunders devising diplomatic and legalistic measures to contain Saddam, freezing funds and applying sanctions and trying to eliminate the weapons of mass destruction. A team of U.N. inspectors led by the Australian Richard Butler did succeed in dismantling some undetermined proportion of the Iraqi biological and chemical arsenal. In tireless pursuit of revenge, Saddam has fought back with cunning and terror. He sent a hit squad to assassinate former president Bush in the course of the latter's visit to Kuwait to commemorate the Gulf War. An Iraqi presumed to be a Saddam agent was involved in the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center. The Clinton administration swung incoherently between hand-wringing and the limited and somewhat arbitrary firing of cruise missiles. With their eyes on future profitable contracts, Russia and France as members of the U.N. Security Council came to the rescue of Saddam. The policy of containment collapsed in 1998 and a jubilant Saddam maneuvered the U.N. inspectors out of Iraq. Since then he has enjoyed an essentially free hand.

What with sanction-busting and smuggling, Iraq receives a petro-dollar income as high as it was before the Gulf War and sanctions, and it spends the money on armaments. In 1987, Dr. Khidhir Hamza became director general of Saddam's program to build nuclear weapons. The prospect of nuclear weapons in Saddam's hands soon appalled this scientist, and he defected in 1994. This spring he said in a public forum that Saddam is "undoubtedly on the precipice of nuclear power." This would transform the world, and Hamza advised that "the best option available is deposing Saddam Hussein." From the sidelines, Richard Butler continues to sound the alarm about Saddam's capacities and intentions.

The events of September 11 gave Saddam open satisfaction. He likes to crow about his victory over the elder Bush, and he personalizes it, referring to the younger Bush as "the son of the snake." State-controlled Baghdad radio rejoiced. The usual crowds were mobilized to celebrate in the streets and shout anti-American slogans. When the Iraqi regime realized that it might be putting itself in harm's way, its spokesmen asserted that it bore no responsibility for the attacks on the United States. Tariq Aziz, Saddam's vice president, is thought to be currently out of favor, but he was wheeled out to say in an interview that America is planning to be rid of Saddam under the pretext of the war on terror. He has learned, he complained angrily, that 1,000 missiles are about to hit 300 targets. The Arab world would not tolerate "unjust and sheer aggression" and the consequences would be very grave—which implied the use by Iraq of weapons of mass destruction.

Iraqi secret-service agents are known to have had meetings with members of al-Qaeda. Iraq has anthrax. Well-informed sources from the CIA and Israeli intelligence—as well as Prince Turki ibn Faisal, the head of Saudi intelligence until a short while ago (and a financier of the Taliban)—cast doubt on linkage between Iraq and Osama bin Laden, and further between Iraq and the spread of anthrax. To Saddam, bin Laden is a religious fanatic of the kind he usually hangs on the gallows. To bin Laden, Saddam is secular, an apostate. True enough: but although they come to it from opposing points of view, what they share is hatred for the United States and its "arrogance," and they seek its destruction.

MEANS OF ELIMINATION/RESCUE

Kanan Makiya, an Iraqi exile, is in the mold of the dissidents who once put themselves at risk to tell the truth about the Soviet Union. In an important recent article, Makiya pleads for the United States to show an "iron resolve" to end the existing regime. Iraqis in opposition need financial resources and stronger security guarantees. They may be able to bribe the Sunni Revolutionary Guards into changing sides in the way that Pashtuns have been bought out of the Taliban. Operating from secure bases in Iraq, and possibly Kuwait and Jordan, Iraqis "can do the rest." What is *not* required, he says, is more American bombing. This speaks well for the humane feelings he has towards his compatriots, but his proposal is wishful thinking, likely to lead to catastrophe for all Iraqis who take to the field, and for Kuwait and Jordan if they are indeed swept into the storm. Superior force alone is able to bring about what Makiya wants.

Very different countries though they are, Afghanistan and Iraq are in a comparable social and political predicament, and events in the former may serve as a guide when the war on terror turns to Iraq. Both countries have been in the grip of an uncompromising dictatorship. The former elites, including most of the professional classes, have fled. Public life is a black hole of murder and corruption. Both countries have a complicated ethnic and tribal mix, as well as the religious divide of Sunni and Shia. The inherited tribal structure determines allegiances and identities. In Afghanistan, the Pashtuns traditionally held absolute power at the expense of Uzbek, Tajik, and Hazara minorities. In Iraq, the minority Sunnis have traditionally held absolute power at the expense of the Shia and the Kurds. Ethnic or tribal affiliation count for more than either

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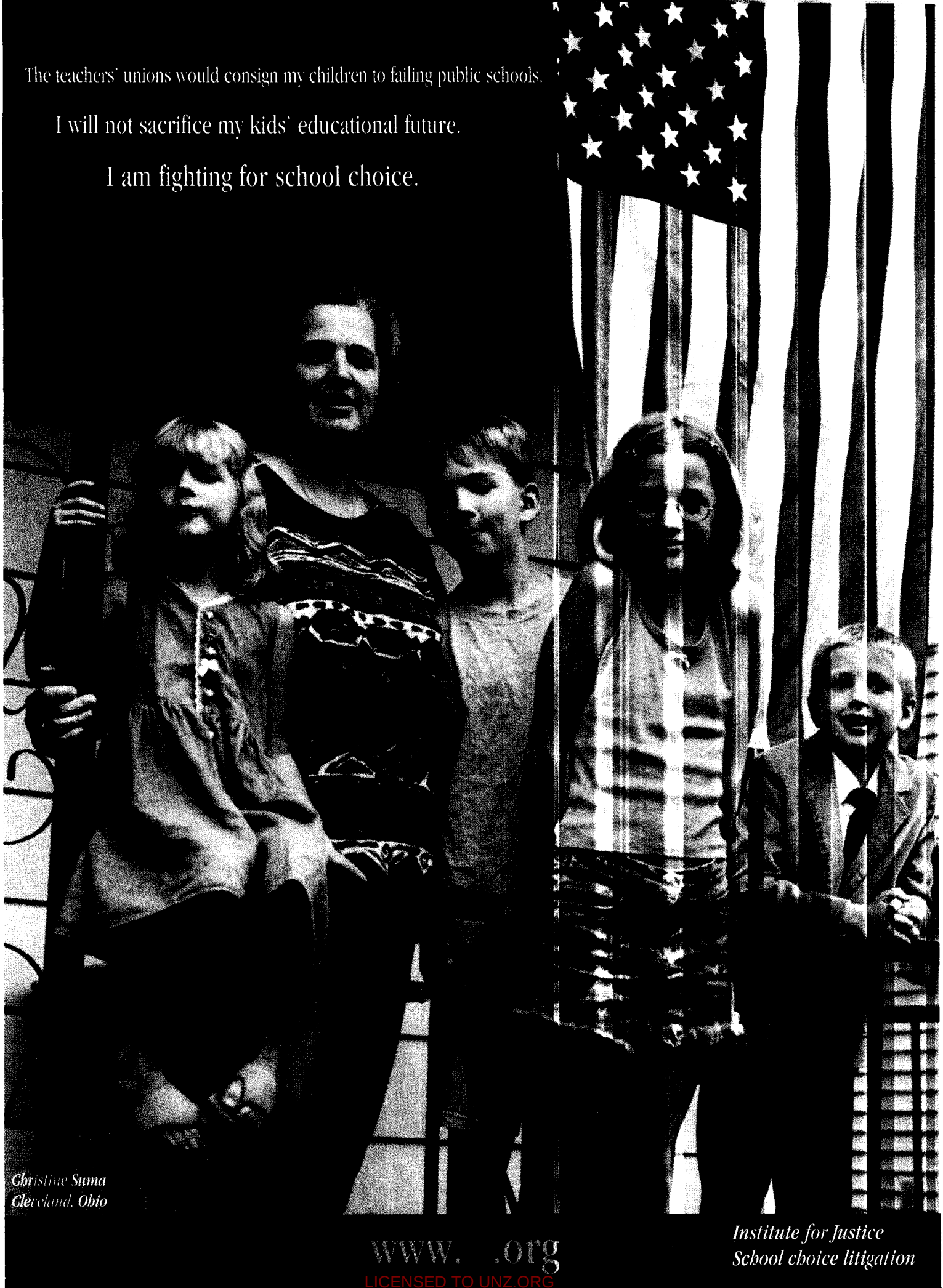
The teachers' unions would consign my children to failing public schools.
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Islam in the one case or Ba'ath-style secularism in the other. Mullah Omar and the Taliban appeal to Pashtun ambitions, and Saddam appeals to Sunni ambitions, and in both cases that is cause enough to brutalize others.

As in Iraq, an alliance of oppressed minorities gathered in Afghanistan, and was almost wiped out. American support—in particular bombing—has instead rallied this alliance and enabled it to overpower the Taliban. That same support in the past might have enabled the opposition in northern Iraq to overthrow Saddam. At so fluid and unusual a moment, the United States once again has a choice of policies toward Saddam: either depose him by force, contain him in the hope of facilitating the Makiya solution, or leave the status quo untouched.

The multicultural and pacifist Left maintains that the United States should not interfere in other peoples' business. To do so attracts the reproach "neo-colonialism." Those who argue that there are no universal values to justify the elimination of slavers and pirates, the Taliban and Saddam, in practice place themselves on the side of these various hells, none of which they would tolerate for themselves for a moment. But everyone everywhere has always had a vision of freedom and law, unrealizable though it may have been. All Afghans have experienced the Taliban as a merciless oppressor, and something like one in four have fled their homes. The inhabitants of Kabul and other cities—Pashtuns among them—are now turning out in the streets to rejoice at their liberation. They are in fact people like the rest of us. To think anything else of them—to suppose, as some critics of the campaign have done with a range of ingenious arguments, that they would welcome their oppressors and resist their liberators—is condescending in the extreme. The simplest tribesman is as capable as an American professor (sometimes, evidently, more so) of distinguishing what is good for him from what is bad.

September 11 defied international codes of decent conduct with a modern barbarism all its own. Without it, the United States would never have intervened in Afghanistan. In the manner of a European power of the 19th century, it is marching the Marines toward a citadel of tyranny. It has neither the wish nor the ability to impose a High Commissioner, but its interests coincide with those of the Afghan masses. The next stage is the search for a "broad-based government," unfortunately an animal in the context as unlikely as a unicorn. The rival Afghan warlords at present meeting in Germany are tribal representatives, and their assorted ambitions and identities have never been compatible. Some form of de facto partition may emerge, or the imposition of another protectorate of the kind the United Nations now specializes in, demarcating tribal boundaries as in Bosnia or Kosovo. But whatever comes is bound to be better than what went before.

Like Afghanistan, Iraq is in the condition of precolonialism, in need of rescue from its regime and reincorporation into the international order. Saddam is an outlaw, another of the contemporary equivalents of the slaver and the pirate, along with Milosevic and Mullah Omar. Realistically, American power alone will enable Iraq to take its fate into its own hands. In the event that endgame comes to Saddam, Iraqis will also be out in the streets welcoming their liberation. That should simplify decision-making. **NR**

Clinton Has No Clothes

What 9/11 revealed about the ex-president

BYRON YORK

On June 25, 1996, a powerful truck bomb exploded outside the Khobar Towers barracks in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, tearing the front from the building, blasting a crater 35 feet deep, and killing 19 American soldiers. Hundreds more were injured. When news reached Washington, President Bill Clinton vowed to bring the killers to justice. "The cowards who committed this murderous act must not go unpunished," he said angrily. "Let me say again: We will pursue this. America takes care of our own. Those who did it must not go unpunished." The next day, leaving the White House to attend an economic summit in France, Clinton had more tough words for the attackers. "Let me be very clear: We will not resist"—the president corrected himself—"we will not *rest* in our efforts to find who is responsible for this outrage, to pursue them and to punish them."

As Clinton spoke, his top political strategist, Dick Morris, was hard at work conducting polls to gauge the public's reaction to the bombing. "Whenever there was a crisis, I ordered an immediate poll," Morris recalls. "I was concerned about how Clinton looked in the face of [the attack] and whether people blamed him." The bombing happened in the midst of the president's re-election campaign, and even though Clinton enjoyed a substantial lead over Republican Bob Dole, Morris worried that public dissatisfaction with Clinton on the terrorism issue might benefit Dole.

Indeed, Morris's first poll showed less support for Clinton than he had hoped. But by the time Morris presented his findings to the president and top staffers at a political-strategy meeting a few days later, public approval of Clinton's response had climbed—something Morris noted in his written agenda for the session:

> SAUDI BOMBING—recovered from Friday and looking great
> Approve Clinton handling 73–20
> Big gain from 63–20 on Friday
> Security was adequate 52–40
> It's not Clinton's fault 76–18

The numbers were a relief for the re-election team. But soon there was another crisis when, on July 17, TWA Flight 800 exploded and crashed into the Atlantic Ocean on its way from New York to Paris. There was widespread suspicion that the crash was the result of terrorism (it was later ruled to be an accident), and Morris's polling found the public growing uneasy not only about air safety but also about Clinton's performance in the Khobar investigation. Morris found that the number of people who believed Clinton was "doing all he can to investigate the Saudi bombing and pun-

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ish those responsible" was just 54 percent, while 32 percent believed he could do more. Morris feared that White House inaction would allow Dole to portray Clinton as soft on national security.

"We tested two alternative defenses to this attack: Peacemaker or Toughness," Morris wrote in a memo for the president. In the "Peacemaker" defense, Morris asked voters to respond to the statement, "Clinton is peacemaker. Brought together Arabs and Israelis. Ireland. Bosnia cease fire. Uses strength to bring about peace." The other defense, "Toughness," asked voters to respond to "Clinton tough. Stands up for American interests. Against foreign companies doing business in Cuba. Sanctions against Iran. Anti-terrorist legislation held up by Republicans. Prosecuted World Trade Center bombers." Morris found that the public greatly preferred "Toughness."

So Clinton talked tough. But he did not *act* tough. Indeed, a review of his years in office shows that each time the president was confronted with a major terrorist attack—the February 26, 1993, bombing of the World Trade Center, the Khobar Towers attack, the August 7, 1998, bombing of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, and the October 12, 2000, attack on the USS *Cole*—Clinton was preoccupied with his own political fortunes to an extent that precluded his giving serious and sustained attention to fighting terrorism.

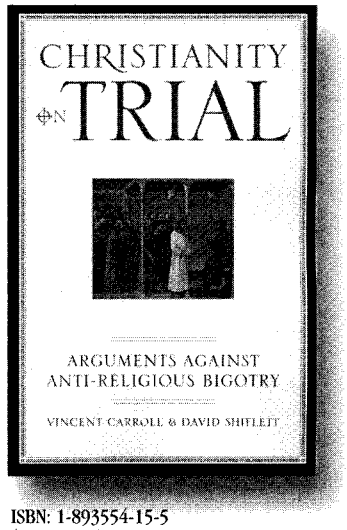
At the time of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, his administration was just beginning, and he was embroiled in controversies over gays in the military, an economic stimulus plan, and the beginnings of Hillary Clinton's health-care task force. Khobar Towers happened not only in the midst of the president's re-election campaign but also at the end of a month in which there were new and damaging developments in the Whitewater and Filegate scandals. The African embassy attacks occurred as the Monica Lewinsky affair was at fever pitch, in the month that Clinton appeared before independent counsel Kenneth Starr's grand jury. And when the *Cole* was rammed, Clinton had little time left in office and was desperately hoping to build his legacy with a breakthrough in the Arab–Israeli conflict. Whenever a serious terrorist attack occurred, it seemed Bill Clinton was always busy with something else.

THE FIRST WTC ATTACK

Clinton had been in office just 38 days when terrorists bombed the World Trade Center, killing six people and injuring more than 1,000. Although it was later learned that the bombing was the work of terrorists who hoped to topple one of the towers into the other and kill as many as 250,000 people, at first it was not clear that the explosion was the result of terrorism. The new president's reaction seemed almost disengaged. He warned Americans against "overreacting" and, in an interview on MTV, described the bombing as the work of someone who "did something really stupid."

From the start, Clinton approached the investigation as a law-enforcement issue. In doing so, he effectively cut out some of the government's most important intelligence agencies. For example, the evidence gathered by FBI agents and prosecutors came under the protection of laws mandating grand-jury secrecy—which meant that the law-enforcement side of the investigation could not tell the intelligence side of the investigation what was going on. "Nobody outside the prosecutorial team and maybe the FBI had access," says

Trial and Acquittal



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James Woolsey, who was CIA director at the time. "It was all under grand-jury secrecy."

Another problem with Clinton's decision to assign the investigation exclusively to law enforcement was that law enforcement in the new administration was in turmoil. When the bomb went off, Clinton did not have a confirmed attorney general; Janet Reno, who was nominated after the Zoë Baird fiasco, was awaiting Senate approval. The Justice Department, meanwhile, was headed by a Bush holdover who had no real power in the new administration. The bombing barely came up at Reno's Senate hearings, and when she was finally sworn in on March 12, neither she nor Clinton mentioned the case. (Instead, Clinton praised Reno for "sharing with us the life-shaping stories of your family and career that formed your deep sense of fairness and your unwavering drive to help others to do better.") In addition, at the time the bombing investigation began, the FBI was headed by William Sessions, who would soon leave after a messy forcing-out by Clinton. A new director, Louis Freeh, was not confirmed by the Senate until August 6.

Amid all the turmoil at the top, the investigation missed some tantalizing clues pointing toward a far-reaching conspiracy. In April 1995, for example, terrorism expert Steven Emerson told the House International Relations Committee that there was information that "strongly suggests . . . a Sudanese role in the World Trade Center bombing. There are also leads pointing to the involvement of Osama bin Laden, the ex-Afghan Saudi mujahideen supporter now taking refuge in Sudan." Two years later, Emerson told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the same thing. In recent years, according to an exhaustive *New York Times* report, "American intelligence officials have come to believe that [ringleader Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman] and the World Trade Center bombers had ties to al-Qaeda."

But the Clinton administration stuck with its theory that the bombing was the work of a loose network of terrorists working apart from any government sponsorship. Intelligence officials who might have thought otherwise were left out in the cold—"I made repeated attempts to see Clinton privately to take up a whole range of issues and was unsuccessful," Woolsey recalls—and some of the nation's most critical intelligence capabilities went unused. In the end, the U.S. tried six suspects in the attack. All were convicted and sentenced to life in prison. Another key suspect, Abdul Rahman Yasin, was released after being held by the FBI in New Jersey and fled to Baghdad, where he is living under the protection of the Iraqi government. Today, with many leads gone cold, intelligence officials concede they will probably never know who was behind the attack.

Clinton Exposed by Roman Genn

KHOBAR TOWERS

"In June of 1996, it felt like an entire herd was converging on the White House," wrote Clinton aide George Stephanopoulos in his memoir, *All Too Human*. A herd of scandals, that is: In late May, independent counsel Kenneth Starr had convicted Jim and Susan McDougal and Jim Guy Tucker in the first big Whitewater trial; in June, the Filegate story first broke into public view, and Sen. Alphonse D'Amato issued his committee's Whitewater report recommending that several administration officials be investigated for perjury. It was also in June that the White House went into full battle mode against a variety of allegations contained in *Unlimited Access*, a book by former FBI agent Gary Aldrich.

All these developments were heavy on the minds of Clinton, Dick Morris, and the other members of the re-election strategy team when the bomb went off at Khobar Towers on June 25. As it had after the World Trade Center bombing, a distracted White House gave the case to law enforcement. But there is significant evidence to suggest that the White House was even less interested in finding answers than it had been in the World Trade Center case. In the Khobar investigation, the Clinton administration not only failed to follow potentially productive leads but in some instances actively made the investigators' job more difficult.

From the beginning, the administration ran into significant Saudi resistance (the Saudis quickly identified a few low-level suspects and beheaded them, hoping to end the matter there). According to a long account of the case by Elsa Walsh published earlier this year in *The New Yorker*, FBI director Louis Freeh on several occasions urged the White House to pressure the Saudis for more cooperation. More than once, Walsh reports, Freeh was frustrated to learn that the president barely mentioned the case in meetings with Saudi leaders.

Freeh—whose own relations with the White House had deteriorated badly in the wake of the Filegate and campaign-finance scandals—became convinced that the White House didn't really want to push the Saudis for more information, which Freeh believed would confirm strong suspicions of extensive Iranian involvement in the attack. Walsh reports that in September 1998, Freeh, angry and losing hope, took the extraordinary step of secretly asking former president George H. W. Bush to intercede with the Saudi royal family. Acting without Clinton's knowledge, Bush made the request, and the Saudis began to provide new information, which indeed pointed to Iran.

In late 1998, Walsh reports, Freeh went to national security adviser Sandy Berger to tell him that it appeared the FBI had enough evidence to indict several suspects. "Who else knows this?" Berger asked

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Freeh, demanding to know if it had been leaked to the press. Freeh said it was a closely held secret. Then Berger challenged some of the evidence of Iranian involvement. "That's just hearsay," Berger said. "No, Sandy," Freeh responded. "It's testimony of a co-conspirator . . ." According to Walsh's account, Freeh thought that "Berger . . . was not a national security adviser; he was a public-relations hack, interested in how something would play in the press. After more than two years, Freeh had concluded that the administration did not really want to resolve the Khobar bombing."

Ultimately, Freeh never got the support he wanted from the White House. Walsh writes that "by the end of the Clinton era, Freeh had become so mistrustful of Clinton that, although he believed he had developed enough evidence to seek indictments against the masterminds behind the attack, not just the front-line suspects, he decided to wait for a new administration." Just before Freeh left office, Walsh reports, he met with new president George W. Bush and gave him a list of suspects in the bombing. In June, attorney general John Ashcroft announced the indictment of 14 suspects: 13 Saudis and one Lebanese. It is not clear whether any of them are the "masterminds" of Khobar; none is in American custody and no Iranian officials were named in the indictment.

Both the Khobar investigation and the World Trade Center bombing presented Clinton with daunting challenges; there were sensitive political issues involved, and in each case it was not immediately clear who was behind the violence. But in neither instance did Clinton press hard for answers and demand action; Berger would not have taken the position he did if the president fully supported a vigorous investigation. In the coming years, Clinton would be faced with clear acts of terrorism carried out by an organization with undeniable state support. But again, busy with other things, he did little.

THE EMBASSIES

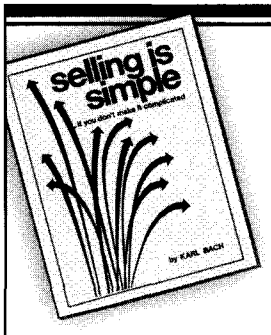
On August 7, 1998, bombs exploded at U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. More than 200 people were killed, including 12 Americans. The morning of the attacks, Clinton said, "We will use all the means at our disposal to bring those responsible to justice, no matter what or how long it takes. . . . We are determined to get answers and justice."

Investigators quickly discovered that bin Laden was behind the attacks. On August 20, Clinton ordered cruise-missile strikes on a bin Laden camp in Afghanistan and the al-Shifa pharmaceutical plant in Sudan. But the strikes were at best ineffectual. There was little convincing evidence that the pharmaceutical factory, which administration officials believed was involved in the production of material for chemical weapons, actually was part of a weapons-making operation, and the cruise missiles in Afghanistan missed bin Laden and his deputies.

Instead of striking a strong blow against terrorism, the action set off a howling debate about Clinton's motives. The president ordered the action three days after appearing before the grand jury investigating the Monica Lewinsky affair, and Clinton's critics accused him of using military action to change the subject from the sex-and-perjury scandal—the so-called "wag the dog" strategy. Some of Clinton's allies, suspecting the same thing, remained silent. Even some of those who, after briefings by administration officials, publicly defended the strikes privately questioned Clinton's decision.

The accusations came as no surprise to the White House. "Everyone knew the 'wag the dog' charge was going to be made," recalls Daniel Benjamin, a terrorism expert on the National Security Council. But Benjamin and others believed—mistakenly, as it turned out—that they could convince the skeptics the attacks were fully justified. "I remember being shocked and deeply depressed over the fact that no one would take seriously what I considered a grave national-security problem," says Benjamin. "Not only were they not buying it, they were accusing the administration of essentially playing the most shallow and foolish kind of game to deflect attention from other issues. It was astonishing."

In particular, reporters and some members of Congress were not convinced by the administration's evidence that the al-Shifa plant was involved in chemical-weapons production.



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The attack came to be viewed, by consensus, as a screw-up. In a new article in *The New York Review of Books*, Benjamin suggests that that skepticism, particularly on the part of reporters, scared Clinton away from any more tough action against bin Laden. "The dismissal of the al-Shifa attack as a blunder had serious consequences, including the failure of the public to comprehend the nature of the al-Qaeda threat," Benjamin writes. "That in turn meant there was no support for decisive measures in Afghanistan—including, possibly, the use of U.S. ground forces—to hunt down the terrorists; and thus no national leader of either party publicly suggested such action."

■

Even though Morris's polling showed the poll-sensitive president that the American people supported tough action, Clinton demurred. Why?

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After the cruise-missile raids, the administration restricted its work to covert actions breaking up terrorist cells. Benjamin and others say a significant number of terrorist plots were short-circuited, preventing several acts of violence. "I see no reason to doubt their word on that," says James Woolsey. "They may have been doing a lot of stuff behind the scenes." But breaking up individual cells while avoiding larger-scale action probably had the effect of postponing terrorist acts rather than stopping them. Woolsey believes that such an approach was part of what he calls Clinton's "PR-driven" approach to terrorism, an approach that left the fundamental problem unsolved: "Do something to show you're concerned. Launch a few missiles in the desert, bop them on the head, arrest a few people. But just keep kicking the ball down the field."

THE *COLE*

The last act of terrorism during the Clinton administration came on October 12, 2000, when bin Laden operatives bombed the USS *Cole* in Aden, Yemen. Seventeen American sailors were killed, 39 others were wounded, and one of the U.S.'s most sophisticated warships was nearly sunk.

Clinton's reaction to the *Cole* terrorism was more muted than his response to the previous attacks. While he called the bombing "a despicable and cowardly act" and said, "We will find out who was responsible and hold them accountable," he seemed more concerned that the attack might threaten the administration's work in the Middle East (the bombing came at the same time as a new spate of violence between Israelis and Palestinians). "If [the terrorists'] intention was to deter us from our mission of promoting peace and security in the Middle East, they will fail utterly," Clinton said on the morning of the attack. The next day, the *Washington Post*'s John Harris, who had good connections inside the administration, wrote, "While the apparent suicide bombing of the USS *Cole* may have been the more dramatic episode for the American public, the escalation between Israelis and Palestinians took the edge in preoccupying senior administration officials yesterday. This was regarded as the more fluid of the two problems, and it presented the broader threat to Clinton's foreign policy aims."

As in 1998, U.S. investigators quickly linked the bombing to bin Laden and his sponsors in Afghanistan's Taliban regime. Together with the embassy bombings, the *Cole* blast established a clear pattern of attacks on American interests carried out by bin Laden's organization. Clinton had a solid rationale, and would most likely have had solid public support, for strong military action. Yet he did nothing. Perhaps he didn't want to endanger the cherished goal of Middle East peace. Perhaps he didn't want to disrupt the 2000 presidential campaign, then in its last days. Perhaps he didn't know quite what to do. But in the end, the ball was kicked a bit farther down the field.

In early August 1996, a few weeks after the Khobar Towers bombing, Clinton had a long conversation with Dick Morris about his place in history. Morris divided presidents into four categories: first tier, second tier, third tier, and the rest. Twenty-two presidents who presided over uneventful administrations fell into the last category. Just five—Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt—made Morris's first tier.

Clinton asked Morris where he stood. "I said that at the moment he was at the top of the unrated category," Morris recalls. Morris says he told the president that one surprising thing about the ratings was that a president's standing had little to do with the performance of the economy during his time in office. "Yeah," Clinton responded, "It has so much to do with whether you get re-elected or not, but history kind of forgets it."

Clinton then asked, "What do I need to do to be first tier?" "I said, 'You can't,'" Morris remembers. "'You have to win a war.'" Clinton then asked what he needed to do to make the second or third tier, and Morris outlined three goals. The first was successful welfare reform. The second was balancing the budget. And the third was an effective battle against terrorism. "I said the only one of the major goals he had not achieved was a war on terrorism," Morris says. (This is not a recent recollection; Morris also described the conversation in his 1997 book, *Behind the Oval Office*.)

But Clinton never began, much less finished, a war on terrorism. Even though Morris's polling showed the poll-sensitive president that the American people supported tough action, Clinton demurred. Why?

"He had almost an allergy to using people in uniform," Morris explains. "He was terrified of incurring casualties; the lessons of Vietnam were ingrained far too deeply in him. He lacked a faith that it would work, and I think he was constantly fearful of reprisals." But there was more to it than that. "On another level, I just don't think it was his *thing*," Morris says. "You could talk to him about income redistribution and he would talk to you for hours and hours. Talk to him about terrorism, and all you'd get was a series of grunts."

And that is the key to understanding Bill Clinton's handling of the terrorist threat that grew throughout his two terms in the White House: It just wasn't his thing. Clinton was right when he said history might care little about the prosperity of his era. Now, as he tries to defend his record on terrorism, he appears to sense that he will be judged harshly on an issue that is far more important than the Nasdaq or 401(k) balances. He's right about that, too. **NR**

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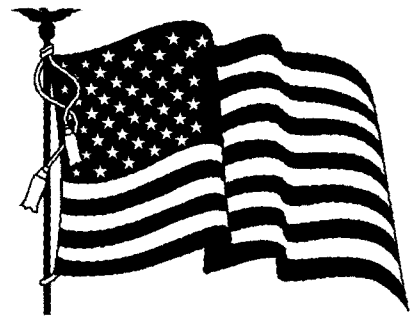

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Sticking with Small

The appropriate size of government

RAMESH PONNURU

BIG government is back. Since September 11, Americans have been looking to Washington again for answers—disregarding a generation of conservative warnings that it creates more problems than it solves. "When the chips are down, where do we turn?" asks Jeff Faux in *The American Prospect*, a liberal magazine. "To the government's firefighters, police officers, and rescue teams. To the nonprofit sector's blood banks and shelters. And to big government's army, navy, and air force."

Bill Moyers, writing in *The Nation*, a leftist magazine, is able to find the silver lining in 9/11: "This catastrophe has reminded us of a basic truth at the heart of our democracy: No matter our wealth or status or faith, we are all equal before the law, in the voting booth and when death rains down from the sky." (Now *that's* comforting.) From that strange untruth, he takes a quick leap to the usual redistributionist agenda. The country's most prominent Democratic consultants argue that Americans are looking favorably on government activism to express their feelings of national solidarity. In short, as the headline of a *New York Times* "news analysis" put it, "Big Government Is Back in Style." (When hasn't it been, for the *Times?*)

There are three overlapping propositions here. The first, which is probably true, is that prosecuting the war on terrorism will expand the size and scope of the federal government. The second, which is more dubious, is that public confidence in government activism generally will increase as a result of the war, whether one likes it or not—the view that Vice President Cheney appears to take. The third, which has almost nothing to be said for it, is that the war *should* make us look more favorably on big government and discredit conservative attacks on it.

There has, indeed, been a spurt of domestic activism by the federal government since the September atrocities. Congress quickly authorized $40 billion in emergency spending. Washington undertook to bail out the airlines and take over airport security. An anti-terrorism bill increased the powers of law-enforcement agencies. The mass-transit lobby is likely to win increased subsidies by hitching its train to September 11. Democrats are using sympathy for firemen and policemen to build support for revising labor law in favor of their unions. Unemployment benefits are likely to be increased, partly in response to the economic shocks of 9/11. The agriculture bill now porking its way through Congress, which undoes free-market reforms passed in 1996, may also be taken as evidence for the big-government-is-back view.

Except for one thing: Big government never left in the first place. Over the last generation of supposedly anti-government politics, Washington has spent ever more and taken on more tasks. The pre–9/11 agenda of both parties included an increase in federal authority over education and health care. The recession was likely to lead to higher unemployment benefits even if we had not been attacked.

It is true that polls of public confidence in government jumped dramatically in the immediate aftermath of September 11—indeed, to the highest level since 1966. But, as William Saletan has noted in *Slate*, such polls should not be taken at face value. The number of Americans who believe the nation is "on the right track" (rather than headed "in the wrong direction") jumped by a similar amount as soon as almost 4,000 of us were slaughtered. So too did the percentage of Americans who trust the government to prevent future attacks on us. These seemingly perverse findings, like the famous jump in President Bush's approval ratings, are best seen as an index of patriotic solidarity rather than of ideology. At the moment, people who express confidence in the government's ability to solve problems are probably thinking about the Taliban and not about inner-city poverty.

WHAT WE BELIEVE

Conservatives are used to making this sort of distinction. Contrary to the opportunistic gloss that liberals have put on recent events, conservatives have never been simply "anti-government." They have never opposed law enforcement or military action to defend American interests, and indeed have argued that the government should concentrate precisely on these things. If the conservative view of the proper role of the federal government had prevailed over the last five years, Washington would have spent more time figuring out what to do about terrorism than trying to reduce class sizes. It is liberals and leftists who have characterized the police as racist brutes and hemmed them in with restrictions. It is they who, in movie after movie, depicted military leaders as chomping at the bit to launch a fascist coup.

Occasionally, it is true, conservatives have indulged in a lazy and reckless anti-government rhetoric. But that style of conservative politics was fading long before September 11; it's been fading since the Oklahoma City bombing of April 1995. It is also true that some conservatives have objected to some of the law-enforcement policies proposed in the aftermath of the September attacks. But these objections have often turned on prudential questions, not the legitimacy of governmental efforts to enforce the law. So, for example, most conservatives have supported military trials for suspected members of al-Qaeda while opposing national ID cards. They rightly reject the latter policy because it would expand government for little or no security gain. (Any feasible system of national ID cards would be too

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susceptible to fraud to provide much help to law enforcement.)

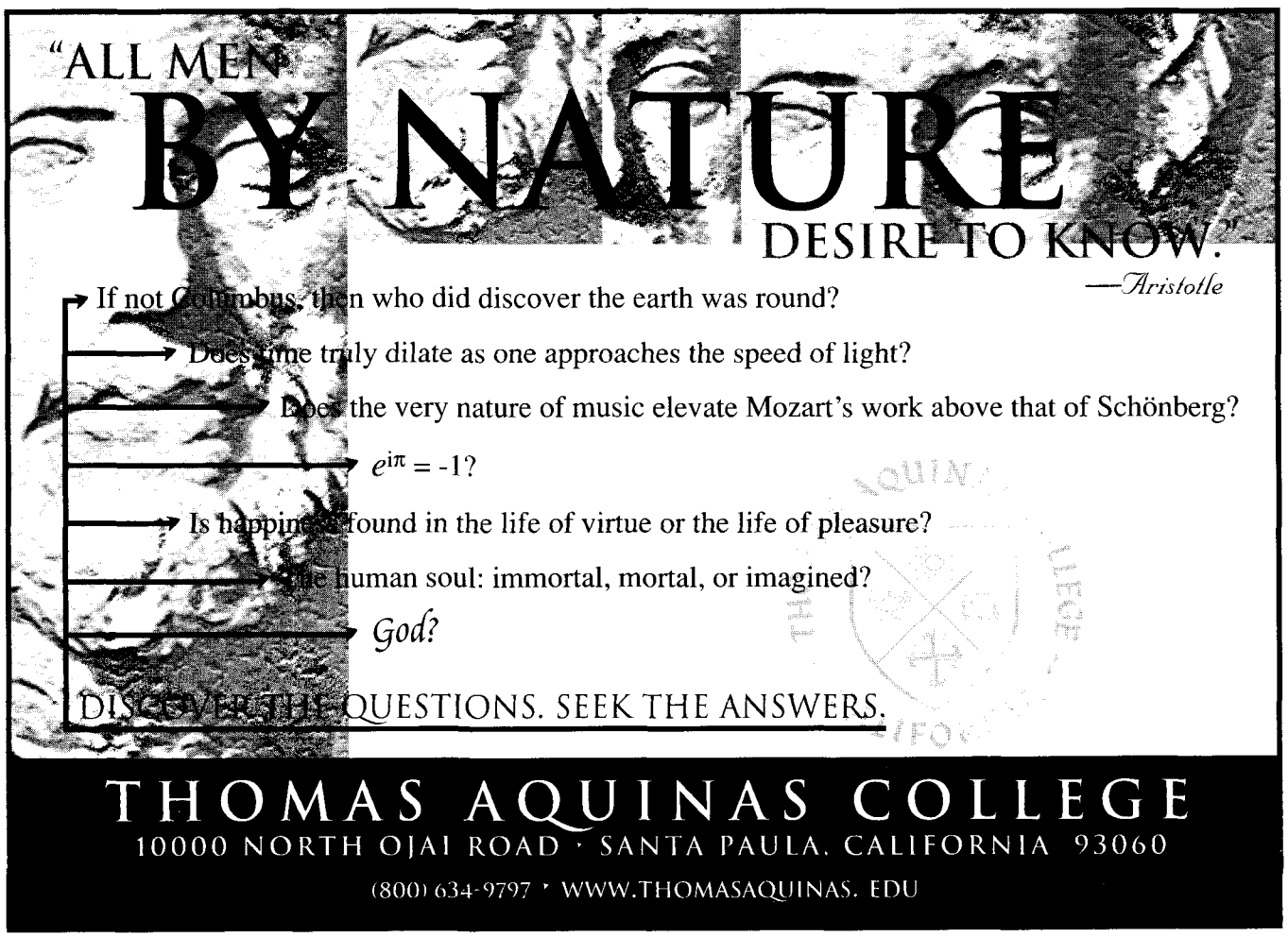
Prosecuting the war should not, then, lead conservatives to alter their view of the proper role of government. Might the war nevertheless change public attitudes? The long-term effect of the war on political psychology is, of course, impossible to know in advance. Especially if it ends in victory, war can increase people's faith in all kinds of government activism and in centralized institutions generally. It certainly did so for the "greatest generation." But the effect did not outlast that generation. By the 1970s, as David Frum elaborates in his book *How We Got Here*, Americans were returning to a more individualistic ethos in everything from business organization to sexual mores. H. W. Brands's new book *The Strange Death of American Liberalism* makes a similar point: World War II and the Cold War built public support for federal power, but that support dropped once the latter conflict became less intense.

Will the war on terrorism affect a new generation of Americans the way World War II did? It doesn't look like it. Michael Barone put it well in *U.S. News & World Report*: "This war seems likely to require the things postindustrial America is good at. It requires high-technology weapons and information technology. It requires relatively small, highly trained, readily adaptable military units [rather than, say, a comprehensive draft]. It requires an openness and ability to deal with people who are different from us. Victory in World War II built confidence in big government and the other big units of industrial America, confidence that lasted another two decades until big government performed poorly in Vietnam. Success in the war against terrorism should build confidence in our supple, creative, small-unit postindustrial America—not in a big government we don't need."

The war on terrorism might expand government in unforeseen, almost accidental ways. American health care is still affected by centralizing forces set in motion by World War II. (Wartime wage controls created an incentive for workers to get health care from their employers rather than purchase it individually.) But there is not yet any reason to expect a major, lasting shift in public attitudes. If the September 11 attacks had led people to look to Washington for security, they should have caused support for gun control to rise. Instead, it's fallen. Americans appreciate the indispensable role of the federal government in protecting them, but the spike in gun sales suggests that they're not relying on it alone.

THE POLITICAL SHAKEOUT

As events unfold, the public's reactions will depend crucially on political leadership. Three Democratic strategists—James Carville, Stanley Greenberg, and Bob Shrum—recently wrote a memo urging their party to follow the example of British prime minister Tony Blair. His speech on the "power of community,"


"ALL MEN
BY NATURE
DESIRE TO KNOW."
—Aristotle
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they say, "lays the basis for public service and modern social democracy." Although they do not put it in these terms, their project is to channel Americans' instinctive nationalist reaction to the attacks into a statist communitarianism rather than, say, tighter border control.

Small-government conservatives can take heart from the fact that President Bush is not inclined to emulate Blair. He has not raised taxes, as is usual in wartime, but proposed tax cuts. He has warned against using the war as a pretext for expanding the federal role in unrelated areas. He has even threatened to veto bloated spending bills. Most encouragingly, federal law-enforcement agencies appear to be shifting their focus to fighting terrorism rather than petty crime that local authorities can handle. That change leads Michael Greve, who studies federalism at the American Enterprise Institute, to conclude that "federalism is ahead on points" since September 11.

The bad news is that President Bush, being busy conducting a war, cannot devote the time to shaping public opinion on domestic issues that Democrats can. Even if he could, he is ideologically indisposed to promote nationalist policies as an alternative to statist ones. Worse, on domestic issues he has adopted a policy of bipartisanship for its own sake that clears the field for Democrats. The reason Republicans lost the battle over federalizing airport security workers wasn't that Americans, suddenly in love with big government, favored the idea. (They did favor it, but not overwhelmingly.) Republicans lost because they had no leverage: Everyone knew President Bush didn't want to fight Democrats on the issue.

If Republicans can find a way to direct the public debate away from big government, nothing about September 11 should deter them from doing so. Much has been made of the fact that many of those who gave their lives trying to save their fellow Americans on that day were government workers, not the dot-com billionaires who were supposedly our heroes during the frivolous boom years. To use their corpses for polemical purposes is, to say the least, distasteful. But since it has been done, it is worth noting that the firemen and policemen worked for *local* governments rather than Washington.

And in point of fact, there were many private-sector heroes as well. Leave aside the stories of people who stayed in the World Trade Center to organize their coworkers' escapes, or who rushed back in hopes of rescuing others. Consider instead the first American counterattack of the war: not the bombing of Afghanistan, but the downing of United Flight 93. Its passengers—among their apparent leaders, as it happens, high-tech executives—successfully resisted the terrorists. On the morning of September 11, the hijacking of commercial airplanes for use as weapons was a new terrorist tactic. Within two hours, and without any central direction, Americans had adapted and made themselves invulnerable to it. Moreover, their resistance was made possible by recent social trends—the wide distribution of cell phones, the rise of round-the-clock news—that were themselves part of the decentralization of American life.

In today's America, a limited war may modestly increase the size of government; it will not lead the public to support Ted Kennedy's domestic agenda. Liberals should hold the champagne. **NR**

Safe for Democracy, and a Nation

The idea of this country post–9/11

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

ONE of the difficulties bedeviling political science is the protean nature of political words. As Robert Schuettinger pointed out in his study of European conservatism, the phrase "a conservative socialist" could mean a hardline Stalinist, a social-democratic revisionist, or merely a socialist who dressed and acted in a modest, inconspicuous way. When words like "conservative" and "liberal" are being used, context is all. So the theme of this article is advertised in neon when I begin with the definitions of these philosophies advanced by two distinguished American political theorists: Samuel Huntington and James Burnham.

Writing in *The American Political Science Review* in 1957, Huntington defined conservatism as that system of ideas employed to defend established institutions when they come under fundamental attack. As Huntington himself put it: "When the foundations of society are threatened, the conservative ideology reminds men of the necessity of some institutions and the desirability of the existing ones."

And in his 1964 book, *The Suicide of the West*, James Burnham described liberalism as "the ideology of Western suicide"—not exactly that liberalism caused that suicide; more that it reconciled the West to its slow dissolution. Again, as Burnham himself put it:

> It is as if a man, struck with a mortal disease, were able to say and to believe, as the flush of the fever spread over his face, 'Ah, the glow of health returning' . . . If Western civilization is wholly vanquished . . . we or our children will be able to see that ending, by the light of the principles of liberalism, not as a final defeat, but as the transition to a new and higher order in which mankind as a whole joins in a universal civilization that has risen above the parochial distinctions, divisions, and discriminations of the past.

If we put these two quotations together, the function of contemporary conservatism becomes clear: to defend the institutions of Western civilization, in their distinct American form, against a series of fundamental assaults carried out in the name of liberalism and either advocated or excused by people calling themselves liberals.

To say that liberalism advances Western suicide, of course, is to say something controversial—but something much less controversial than when Burnham wrote forty years ago. When Ivy League students form mobs chanting "Hey, hey, ho, ho, Western Civ has got to go," when their professors happily edit the classics of Western thought out of their curricula, and when the politicians preside happily over a multicultural rewriting of

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America's history that denies or downplays its Western roots, no one can plausibly deny that an anti-Western impulse is working itself out.

This liberal revolution is an assault on the institutions invented by classical and constitutional liberalism in its great creative phase—not merely the free market, but also individual rights, free scientific inquiry, free speech, the rule of law, majority rule, democratic accountability, and national sovereignty. It promises, of course, not to abolish these liberal institutions so much as to "transcend" them or to give them "real substance" rather than mere formal expression. In reality, however, they are abolished, and replaced by different institutions derived from a different political philosophy. John Fonte of the Hudson Institute has mapped out the contours of this revolution in a series of important essays, and most importantly in "Liberal Democracy vs. Transnational Progressivism." What follows in the next few paragraphs borrows heavily from his work, though the formulations are mine. Among the more important changes advanced by transnational progressivism (as I shall here follow Fonte in calling it) are:

One: *The replacement of individual identities and rights by group identities and rights.* Race and gender quotas are the most obvious expression of this concept, but its implications run much further—suggesting, for instance, that groups as such have opinions or, in the jargon, "perspectives." Individuals who express opinions that run counter to the perspectives of their group, therefore, cannot really represent the group.

Two: *An attack upon majority rule as the main mechanism of democratic government.* Majority rule, its opponents contend, gives insufficient weight to minority or "victim" groups, and should be replaced by a power-sharing arrangement among different groups. This ambitious concept has not been totally enacted anywhere, but steps towards it have been taken. The Voting Rights Act, for example, requires that election districts be drawn in such a way as to ensure specific racial outcomes; and some European nations have recently introduced laws requiring political parties to ensure that a given percentage of their election candidates are women.

Three: *Transferring power from political institutions directly accountable to the voters, such as Congress, to judges, bureaucratic agencies, and international organizations outside the control of the voters.* Originally, this transfer of power required the consent of the elected bodies; increasingly, however, judges interpret international law, including treaties that have not been ratified or that have been greatly expanded in scope since ratification, as overriding domestic law. This process, still in its nervous infancy in the U.S., is far advanced in the European Union—where the courts have overruled national legislatures on issues as different as territorial fishing rights and the right of soldiers to become pregnant. If allowed to continue, this trend must first erode and eventually render obsolete both national sovereignty and self-government.

Four: *De-constructing and re-constructing the self-understanding of America.* Every nation has a sense of itself and its history that is embedded in a national narrative marked by heroic episodes. In this traditional narrative, America is the progressive universalization of English civilization—Magna Carta expanded to accommodate slaves, and later immigrants, and enriched by the

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Leadership for America

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cultures they brought with them. It is therefore a branch of a branch of Western civilization; but multiculturalism seeks to undermine this self-understanding and to replace it with an entirely different narrative, in which America is seen as a "convergence" of European, African, and Amerindian civilizations (and therefore the natural basis for a political system based on group identities and rights). This re-constructionist impulse has become the orthodoxy in many public schools.

Five: *Re-constructing the people by mass immigration from other cultures.* As long as new immigrants are assimilated into the existing nation, no problem arises; if assimilation fails to occur, the nation is gradually dissolved into a Babel of different cultural groups with conflicting allegiances. Under existing law, however, assimilation is not only made difficult by the sheer numbers of people arriving, it is also discouraged by official policies of multiculturalism and bilingualism.

■

In domestic policy, the Bush administration has been largely inert when it comes to asserting a sense of national identity.

■

Six: *Divorcing citizenship from nationality and bestowing the rights of citizens—including the right to vote—on all residents in the nation, including illegal immigrants.* According to this theory, citizenship should be carried on an immigrant's back to whichever nation he manages to sneak into. If seriously implemented in law, it would transform nations into mere places of residence; the symbol of this kind of citizenship is Mohamed Atta, the hijacker who destroyed the World Trade Center.

In the post-national world Fonte describes, nations are no longer peoples united by a common history and culture, and "the mystic chords of memory"; they are simply the varied inhabitants of an arbitrary piece of real estate. Political authority is no longer constitutionally limited and located in particular national institutions; it is diffuse, and scattered among bodies at different levels. Politicians no longer have to take responsibility for hard decisions; they can pass them onto higher organs of unaccountable power. Civic patriotism is no longer the prime civic virtue; it is displaced either downwards, by a narrow ethnic loyalty, or upwards, by a cosmopolitan loyalty to international institutions.

But a terrible beauty has not been born. Instead, Leviathan, by dividing itself up into several spheres, has slipped free of constitutional restraints and popular control. For the ordinary voter the world has become a mysterious place, far more difficult to navigate, let alone control. For political elites, it has become a market in power in which bureaucrats, pressure groups, businesses, and international lawyers exchange favors behind a veil of post-national irresponsibility.

For years, this progressivist revolution proceeded rapidly, chiefly because the public was paying little or no attention to it. But whenever it emerged into the light of controversy—as when Lani Guinier's nomination led to the revelation that law professors believed in something like John C. Calhoun's "concurrent majorities"—the public reacted violently against it. The typical lack of public interest was due in part to the GOP's nervous reluctance to raise such issues as racial preferences, bilingual education, or even the International Criminal Court. Although conservatism dictated a principled defense of the Constitution against these attacks, the Republicans backed off. In effect, they went from ignoring such assaults under Reagan, to going along with them quietly under George H. W. Bush, to even embracing some of them with a show of enthusiasm under George W. Bush. If the revolution were to be stopped, the political equivalent of a thunderbolt would be required.

To everyone's horror, that thunderbolt *was* delivered, in the form of the attack on September 11; as everyone agrees, that changed everything. In particular it revealed that America had deep reserves of patriotism and that there was a wide, though not universal, desire for national unity. In one terrifying moment, it created or revived constituencies for a firm assimilationist approach, for tighter immigration policies that protected U.S. security, for a reading of American history as the narrative of a great achievement, and for the celebration of U.S. power against all the recently fashionable follies of post-nationalism. In foreign policy, the Bush administration met this public appetite with a clear declaration of war on terrorism, and a clear military strategy for waging it; it has been rewarded for this with high popular support.

In domestic policy, however, it has been largely inert—preferring to constrain liberties internally rather than to strengthen protections against external threats. In the less tangible but vitally important matter of national unity and morale, it has concentrated entirely on (very proper) warnings against anti-Muslim sentiment—but without asking for expressions of loyalty from Muslim leaders or, more generally, asking immigrant communities to make a public commitment of their loyalty to the American nation. That is a profound mistake. Most immigrants would be happy to make such a commitment; it is America's cultural elites who would resist it most strongly.

But then, they are the shock troops of post-national progressivism; and they would realize that the demand for loyalty would be an unmistakable sign that America had recovered complete confidence in itself, in its own institutions of constitutional democracy, and in its historical mission. Without such a demand, moreover, many decent moderate people might drift idly into the kind of multicultural extremisms that helped shelter the World Trade Center attackers. For, as Americans above all should know, you can't beat something with nothing.

This, then, is a moment of great significance and opportunity in American politics. Democracy and the nation-state are the Siamese twins of political theory; democracy rarely survives apart from its twin. Every attempt to create a multicultural democracy either has failed or is deeply troubled. Bush could very reasonably weave a national appeal around the theme of defending American democracy—with equal emphasis on both words. It would resonate strongly with the American majority; command the support of many voters in minority groups; provide the GOP with a raft of popular domestic policies; and attract Democratic constituencies such as patriotic blue-collar workers. And if such an appeal is *not* made, the progressivist revolution is going to end up winning. **NR**

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Up-'n'-Comers

Standouts in the Republican farm system

KATE O'BEIRNE

EVEN the conservative movement's most cheerful optimist is dispirited when he considers the current crop of Republican state leaders. "The problem now is that if a Republican governor is not raising taxes he can hold his head up," Grover Norquist notes glumly.

Norquist's outlook returns to its customary sunniness, however, when he discusses conservatives' future leadership; he predicts that there will be a spirited competition for the mantle of national conservative leader. A record number of Republican governors have been elected in recent years, but their disappointing performance in office has conservatives looking elsewhere for promising politicians to champion their agenda. And while the right-wing bench—even apart from the governors—is not crowded, there are worthy incumbents and challengers conservatives should be rooting for.

While the senior senator from Arizona grabbed all the headlines in 2000, Arizona's junior senator actually came much closer to winding up in the White House than his maverick colleague did. Jon Kyl was one of only a handful of candidates to be interviewed by Dick Cheney during George W. Bush's search for a running mate. Sen. Kyl's solid record on foreign and defense policy would have provided what Bush was clearly looking for had Kyl's former mentor from their days in the House together not gotten the nod. Since his service in the House as a charter member of the Conservative Opportunity Society, the second-term senator has been a dedicated conservative advocate on issues ranging from missile defense to free trade and estate-tax repeal. Most recently, Kyl led a successful GOP revolt that held up appropriations bills until the Senate stopped stalling the confirmation of some administration nominees. With Phil Gramm's announced retirement, many conservatives will be counting on the hard-working and talented Kyl for the principled leadership that Gramm so reliably provided.

Another Arizonan who has earned the enthusiastic support of conservatives will be running for governor next year. Facing a self-imposed limit of only three terms, Matt Salmon left the House last year; in Congress, he enjoyed nothing more than a spirited fight over his strongly held convictions. Should Salmon—the only candidate who refuses to abide by the state's new regime of public-campaign financing—win in November 2002, he could be counted on to join the new competition Norquist hopes to see among committed reformist governors.

Another such governor would be in office in Missouri, had former congressman Jim Talent not lost his bid by less than 1 percent last year. Talent has announced that he will take on Sen. Jean Carnahan, who was appointed to the first two years of the term her late husband won. An extremely able and articulate conservative, Talent has been teaching a course on Congress at Washington University in St. Louis; his choice of E. B. White's *Elements of Style* as the single required text indicates what a welcome difference he brings to the practice of politics. In just a few short weeks, his campaign appearances and online chats have exhibited the humor, intelligence, and philosophical self-confidence that his many fans in Washington would love to see him bring to the Senate.

Bill Simon Jr., a wealthy businessman who served as a federal prosecutor under U.S. attorney Rudy Giuliani, brings a similar optimistic conservatism to his uphill battle against the Republican establishment for the party's nomination for governor of California. California conservatives hope that the 50-year-old son of the late Treasury secretary William Simon will have a combination of assets and ideas powerful enough to spare them the unsettling prospect of a GOP nominee—former Los Angeles mayor Richard Riordan—running to the left of Gov. Gray Davis next November. Should this talented newcomer upset Riordan, then knock off the troubled incumbent, he would automatically become a national conservative champion—and a presidential contender.

During the Florida recount follies last year, Florida's house speaker Tom Feeney became just such a national champion when he boldly declared that the legislature wasn't going to permit the state supreme court's meddling to jeopardize the timely appointment of Florida electors. Who was this pugnacious politician confidently reciting from the Federalist Papers on the floor of the Florida house? The 43-year-old Pennsylvania native is well known in his adopted state, where his spirited support for school vouchers caught the attention of Jeb Bush—who tapped Feeney to be his running mate in his first (unsuccessful) gubernatorial bid. Back in the legislature after the statewide race, Feeney is one of those happy warriors who thoroughly enjoy battling on behalf of lower taxes, deregulation, school choice, and pro-life causes. It is widely expected that he will bring his relish for political combat to Washington, when he wins one of Florida's two new congressional seats next year.

Feeney would provide reinforcement to the younger Republican House members who consistently champion the conservative agenda. In only his second term, Congressman Paul Ryan of Wisconsin has gone to the head of his class as a savvy advocate of supply-side tax cuts on the Ways and Means Committee. Sharing sophomore-class honors is Pat Toomey of Pennsylvania, who has fought tirelessly for smaller budgets and bigger tax cuts. Arizona's John Shadegg ably runs the Republican Study Committee, where the most dedicated conservative members, like Ryan and Toomey, come together to design policies and plot strategies to advance a principled agenda. Freshman Mike Pence, who ran a conservative think tank and hosted a radio talk show in Indiana, is already viewed as a valuable ally by conservative colleagues, who appreciate his fluid command of the issues.

Thanks to members like these, and the generalship of majority whip Tom DeLay, the House has been able to produce conservative victories—narrowly, to be sure, but routinely. They are winning the conservative ground war, and helping set the stage for broader national success. **NR**

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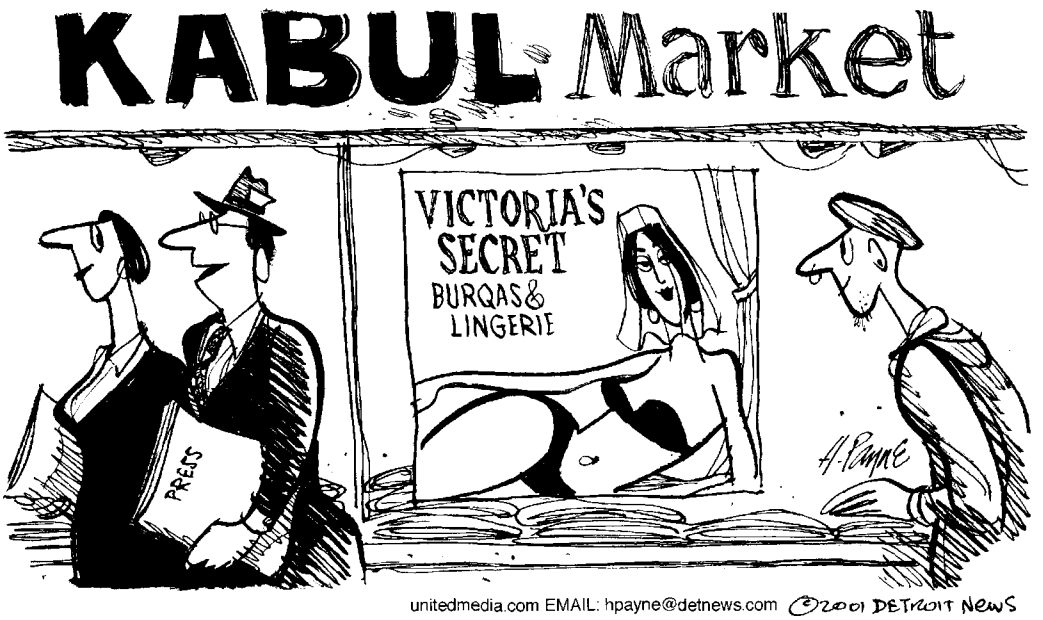
HELP!!!!

"Osama bin Laden uses a cave . . . but we hide in here for protection."



"THE TALIBAN IS OUT. THE U.S. IS IN."

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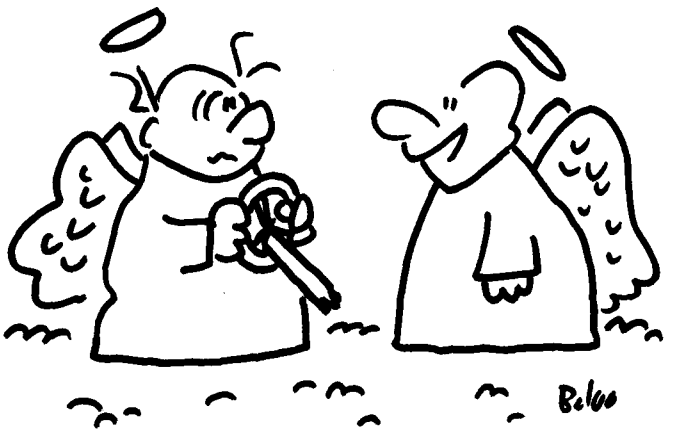

"Hi—you must be the new guy."

WHERE'S NOW NOW?

First Lady Bush, in for the boss,
Threw feminism for a loss
Lambasting costumes Afghan girls,
Who yearn to tart up, sporting pearls
And pantyhose, don for daywear;
As I say, Laura, on a tear,
Tore into what this no-bra bunch
Should have been blasting during lunch.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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THE LONG VIEW

By Rob Long

MIDTOWN MENTAL HEALTH CLINIC

Doctor's Notes

PATIENT: B. Clinton
TREATED SINCE: January 27th, 2001
INSURANCE: Federal/OK

September 12th, 2001

Patient calls private number and demands an appointment. Doctor reminds him that his scheduled session isn't for another week, and that we just had a session on September 10th. He replies that he is depressed by the events and that he needs someone to work it out with. Doctor replies that the next several days are actually pretty full, and whatever time doctor has will be spent volunteering downtown as a grief counselor. Patient becomes irate. What about *my* grief? he asks. You don't think *I* hurt, too? You don't think this kills *me*? I mean, me, especially? Doctor cautions patient against appearing in public or on television with that attitude. What attitude? patient asks. All I'm saying, patient continues, is that I'm a victim of this thing too. Maybe, in a way, I'm the *biggest* victim. Doctor agrees to see patient as soon as possible.

September 14th, 2001

Patient's attitude seems to have stabilized. He now sees that the thousands of people in the World Trade Center towers, the hundreds of firefighters, rescue workers, and police, and their families and friends, are the true victims of September 11th, and that while he no doubt feels their pain (a phrase I have forbidden in our sessions as unnecessarily projective and delusional) he is in no way a victim of the events, is in no way directly touched by them, and is in no way hurting the hardest.

Patient seems to understand with the aid of low levels of oral psychopharmaceuticals that he is on the periphery of these events' aftermath. So far, he seems okay with it.

September 25th, 2001

Patient arrives for his usual scheduled session only one hour late, as we've agreed.

(Patient had been chronically late by several hours, until we finally agreed upon the one-hour rule: Patient can arrive late, if he feels it necessary, but only by an hour. This was a difficult and protracted discussion, with the patient demanding presidential prerogatives, but agreement was eventually reached. For further issues that required careful negotiation between doctor and patient, please see Note for March 17th, 2001: Explaining to Patient Why He Cannot Sit In On Other Patients' Sessions and Offer Advice.)

Patient seems to have decided that his role at this time is, essentially, passive. He has agreed to help with the fundraising efforts—when the request came, though, he admitted to doctor that he misunderstood who the funds were intended for—and has tried to keep himself busy with service to the city. We agree that this counts as progress.

Patient gets more comfortable talking about his role as healer. He mentions fundraising, consoling families, attending gatherings of victims, helping with Red Cross efforts. Doctor compliments patient, reminding him that he has an important part to play in the healing of the city even if he wasn't a direct victim. Doctor reinforces the basic thrust of patient's therapeutic work: that delusional egomania hurts the patient's effectiveness. Patient agrees. I can't believe I ever thought I was a victim in this thing, he says with a laugh. I mean, nothing could be further from the truth! I'm not a victim. I'm a healer. I'm a leader. In fact, I'm the chief healer in this city today. I've been leading this city through this terrible crisis since Day One. I'm a hero.

Clearly, patient has a long way to go.

October 18th, 2001

In the wake of George W. Bush's soaring popularity, patient has become depressed and listless. Under the advice of doctor, the patient has refused all direct interviews with the news media.

In an interview the previous week, patient had declared to journalists that when he was president, he ordered a cruise-missile attack on Osama bin Laden and almost got him. Patient went on to describe the various anti-terror measures he implemented, declaring himself, in many ways, the first Director of Homeland Security. When subsequent press reports contradicted the patient's claims, under the strong advice of doctor, patient disconnected his phone, pulled out his cable, and spent ten days sitting quietly, watching the leaves turn.

November 26th, 2001

Following patient's speech at Georgetown, in which he traced culpability for September 11th to the Crusades of the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries, patient arrives, confused. I thought that's what you wanted from me, he says. A wider historical perspective. Not one based entirely on me. Doctor agrees and tells patient that he considers the Georgetown speech to be a great milestone in patient's therapy. Patient has finally begun to see the world in its larger scope, and the sweep of history as something other than a collection of events that, when aligned, point directly to a Bill Clinton presidency.

So why am I getting nailed for it? the patient asks.

Patient has a point. Doctor reminds him that therapeutic progress is slow and often painful, and that the outside world rarely recognizes the great strides a patient makes.

So I *am* a victim, the patient declares. I knew it! *I am a victim of September 11th. I am! I am!*

Patient dashes out before the session is over, and before doctor can collect the $20 co-pay.

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American Lion

MAX BOOT

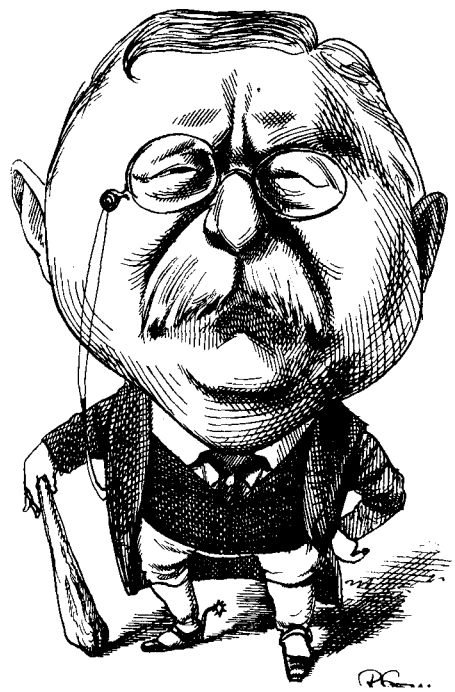
Theodore Rex, by Edmund Morris (Random House, 772 pp., $35)

TERRORISM on the scale of September 11 is new to America, or to anywhere else for that matter. But there is nothing unprecedented about political attacks on U.S. soil. On September 6, 1901—100 years, almost to the day, before the carnage at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon—the president of the United States, William McKinley, was gunned down by a Polish-American anarchist named Leon Czolgosz. Theodore Roosevelt succeeded McKinley, and devoted a good portion of his first message to Congress to denouncing foreign terrorists, in words that seem strikingly relevant to the present day.

> The wind is sowed by the men who preach such doctrines, and they cannot escape their responsibility for the whirlwind that is reaped. . . . They and those like them should be kept out of this country; and if found here they should be promptly deported to the country whence they came; and far-reaching provision should be made for the punishment of those who stay.

There was no mention of the civil liberties of law-abiding immigrants, no bows toward America's great respect for the Polish people, no genuflections toward anarchist doctrine. Instead Roosevelt warned in stern tones: "The American people are slow to wrath, but when their wrath is kindled it burns like a consuming flame."

Mr. Boot, editorial-features editor of the *Wall Street Journal*, is author of the forthcoming book *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power*.



TR by Roman Genn

Edmund Morris quotes these words near the beginning of the long-awaited second volume of his Roosevelt biography. This book was gripping enough prior to September 11, but has acquired added resonance in the atrocity's aftermath. As I read, I could not help wondering how the 26th president would have handled the present crisis, and pining, in these dark days, for his soaring eloquence, his boundless energy, and his indomitable warrior spirit. Though George W. Bush has been a capable president, he's no Teddy Roosevelt. But then, who is?

Edmund Morris has the curious distinction of having written both one of the very best political biographies and one of the worst. He began his career with a masterpiece, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (1979). Its success led to Morris's appointment in 1985 as Ronald Reagan's court chronicler, and the publication, 14 years later, of *Dutch*. The book was subtitled *A Memoir of Ronald Reagan*, but was really the memoir of a biographer overwhelmed by a subject he did not understand. Morris tried to mask his failure of comprehension by resorting to all sorts of weird literary devices, the most notorious being the creation of a fictional "Edmund Morris" whose life kept intersecting with the future president's. The resulting book was self-indulgent, solipsistic, silly.

Morris has now redeemed himself with *Theodore Rex*, devoted entirely to TR's presidential years, 1901–1909. (A third and final volume is promised.) There are no scenes here of Edmund smoking a cigar and shooting the breeze with Teddy; this is an old-fashioned narrative that hews for the most part to the historical record but nevertheless manages to scale high peaks of literary achievement. Every reader will have favorite moments. I was particularly dazzled by the evocation of the summer White House at Oyster Bay; one can almost hear the squeals of the Roosevelt children scampering through the daisy fields.

If there is one fault, it is that the narrative is largely devoid of analysis. Coming to the end of its 555 pages, the reader hungers for some sense of what it all meant, but Morris does little to satisfy this craving. He offers a mere three paragraphs of summation, in which he blandly notes TR's legacy of new national parks and refers to a "folk consensus" that he was "the most powerfully positive American leader since Abraham Lincoln."

This lack of reflection is disappointing, because TR and his legacy loom very large today. He is much invoked by Republicans who think that their party is once again in the grip of wealthy reactionaries, and that it will take a man of Roosevelt's independence to steer it back toward a progressive path. John McCain's backers tout him as the new

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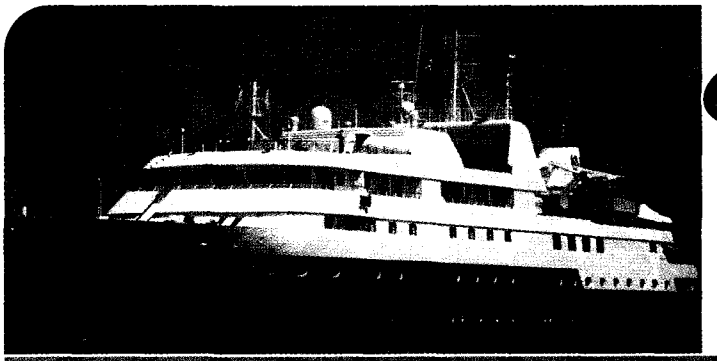

JOIN WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY J

Crossroads of Mediterranean

An Exclusive National Review Voyage Aboard the Luxurious New 92-Guest Sun Bay I

Join us on what is destined to be the most exotic, unique, and truly thrilling seafaring voyage *National Review* will ever sponsor, the 2002 "Crossroads of Civilization" Cruise. We're certain you won't be able to find a more enjoyable or more irresistible trip than this exclusive *National Review* journey to ancient, beautiful, and rarely visited Mediterranean ports, traveling with Bill Buckley, Rich Lowry, Kate O'Beirne, and Ramesh Ponnuru aboard a new deluxe ship reserved exclusively for *NR* readers.

Sail with us on the new 92-guest *Sun Bay I* as we explore fascinating historic sites and glorious Mediterranean islands—the "beauty spots," as Bill Buckley writes, "that aroused the lust of Caesar and Napoleon, and will now gratify our own." During ten glorious days and nights you'll visit places that you've always dreamed of seeing, and enjoy the company of Bill and *NR*'s editors, who will treat you to scintillating discussions—at seminars, during cocktail receptions and relaxing "smokers," and over intimate gourmet meals—on current events.

We'll sail to and from these heralded locales on the wonderful *Sun Bay I*. With its relaxed and congenial ambiance, spacious cabins, inviting public rooms, and generous deck space, it's the perfect venue for mixing, mingling, dining, and reveling with our stellar team of *NR* editors and friends, both old and newfound! You simply must sign up today to reserve one of the 40 deluxe cabins—only five remain!—on this unique and exclusive voyage designed especially for *National Review*. This is one time you won't want to miss the ship!

DETAILED ITINERARY OF *NATIONAL REVIEW*'S EXCLUSIVE, ALL-INCLUSIVE CRUISE

Wednesday, May 1, 2002
USA | DEPARTURE
The trip of a lifetime begins today as you depart the U.S. on a regularly scheduled flight destined for beautiful Malta.

Thursday, May 2
VALLETTA, MALTA
Today you arrive in Valletta, one of Europe's most stunning cities. Enjoy luxury accommodations at the five-star Hotel Le Meridien Phoenicia, located amidst splendid gardens overlooking the city. Take some "R & R" time as the balance of the day is at your leisure. At night, enjoy a welcome cocktail reception and dinner at the hotel, where you will meet and mingle with your hosts.

Friday, May 3
VALLETTA
You'll commence this first full day in Europe with a morning tour of the city, including the Grand Master's Palace, formerly the official residence of the grand master, which houses the armory and the state rooms; and the Co-Cathedral of St. John, the main church of the Knights, completed in 1578 with Caravaggio's masterpiece, the *Beheading of St. John*, and other treasures. In the afternoon, join your comrades at the Meridien Phoenicia for our first *National Review* seminar, led by Bill Buckley.

Saturday, May 4
VALLETTA | TARXIEN | MDINA | RABAT | VALLETTA | EMBARKATION
In the morning, we'll visit the National Museum of Archaeology, with its exhibits that record the history of the Maltese islands, and then drive to Tarxien to tour its prehistoric temples, dating from about 3000–2500 B.C. On to Mdina, the island's first capital, situated impressively on a high plateau. After lunch at a local restaurant, the *NR* contingent will explore this fortified medieval town, and then tour the catacombs and Roman villa at nearby Rabat. In the afternoon we will return to Valletta's Grand Harbor to board the *Sun Bay I*, which departs in the evening, headed for some of the most heralded sites of Western civilization. Tonight enjoy the first of *NR*'s two "smokers," featuring world-class H. Upmann cigars.

Sunday, May 5
PORTO EMPEDOCLE | AGRIGENTO, SICILY
Today we visit the beautiful southwest coast of Sicily, where the *Sun Bay I* will pull into Porto Empedocle. From there we will drive to nearby Agrigento, the home to awe-inspiring ancient architecture and artifacts. Set on a ridge facing the sea, Agrigento's series of superb Doric temples are perhaps the most captivating of Sicily's Greek remains. View the Temple of Hercules, constructed in the 6th century B.C.; the Temple of Concord, a remarkably preserved edifice; and the Temple of Juno, noted for its graceful proportions. This afternoon we'll return to the *Sun Bay I* for relaxing and sailing.

Monday, May 6
AT SEA | TAORMINA, SICILY
The morning finds us pleasurably sailing the Mediterranean, and after breakfast comes the second *NR* seminar. After lunch, we arrive in Taormina, one of the most beautifully situated cities in all of Italy. Founded in 396 B.C. by Greek colonists from Naxos, Taormina, an archaeological treasure-trove, prospered throughout both the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Visit the magnificent Greek theater, explore the medieval palaces, and stroll through the city's lovely gardens and terraces. Back aboard ship this evening, trip the *luce fantastico* at a delightful *NR* cocktail reception with friends old and new.

Tuesday, May 7
PALERMO | SEGESTA | MONREALE | PALERMO
This morning we arrive in Palermo, Sicily's

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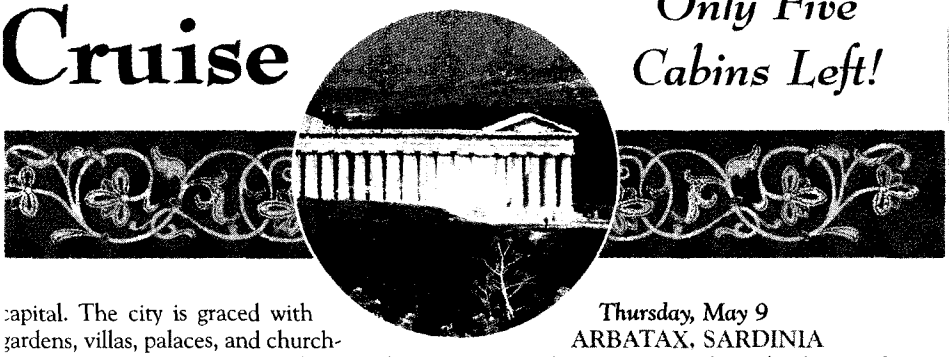
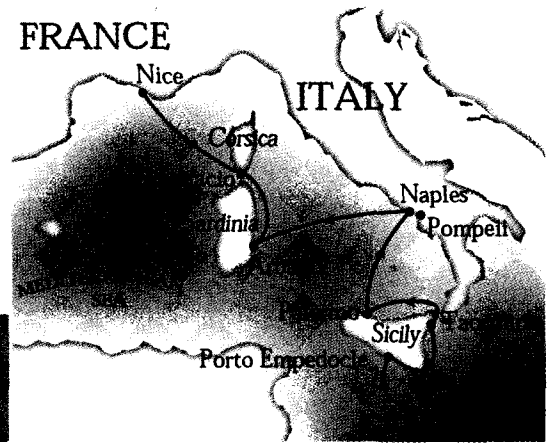
AND THE EDITORS OF NATIONAL REVIEW ON THE

Civilization Cruise

May 1-11, 2002

Only Five Cabins Left!





capital. The city is graced with gardens, villas, palaces, and churches that come in a variety of architectural styles, reflecting its long history. Driving from Palermo in the morning, we arrive in Segesta to view its unfinished temple, situated in majestic solitude atop a rural hill. After lunch in the small medieval town of Monreale, we'll tour its famed cathedral and elegant cloister; constructed from 1174 to 1176 by William II, the cathedral's interior contains a magnificent series of mosaics. In the afternoon, we return to Palermo to visit the glorious Cappella Palatina, one of Italy's finest works of art. We'll depart in the evening and enjoy another stimulating *National Review* seminar aboard the stunning *Sun Bay I*.

Wednesday, May 8
POMPEII | NAPLES, ITALY
Today the *Sun Bay I* ventures to Naples, from which we'll head to the famed historical site of Pompeii, ravaged and buried when Vesuvius erupted in A.D. 79, and now "restored" after 200-plus years of painstaking excavations that reveal an extraordinary wealth of information about domestic life in the Roman Empire. Tour highlights include the Forum, the Temples of Apollo and Jupiter, the Stabian Baths, and the House of Vettii. Following lunch we'll visit the National Archeological Museum in Naples (it houses a massive collection of Pompeii treasures). The evening features another *NR* "smoker" back on the *Sun Bay I*.

Thursday, May 9
ARBATAX, SARDINIA
Today we visit Sardinia, landing at the pretty eastern port of Arbatax, located on the Bellavista promontory, a wondrous red porphyry hill that projects into the sea. From here we'll explore beautiful surrounding villages, including Baunei, situated under limestone crags, and Urzuleir, built on mutliple levels on the slopes of Punta Is Gruttas. Then enjoy another *National Review* seminar aboard the *Sun Bay I*.

Friday, May 10
BONIFACIO, CORSICA | AT SEA
Today's feature is Sardinia's "sister" island, Corsica. In the morning *Sun Bay I* enters the scenic, fjord-like waterway that leads to Bonifacio. We'll disembark and explore this exotic town, visiting its famed cliffs and the Pertusato Lighthouse. Back on the *Sun Bay I*, we'll enjoy a relaxing afternoon sailing the Mediterranean, and revel in the final *National Review* seminar. And before another sumptuous dinner, we'll experience one last glorious eruption of conservative camaraderie at our farewell cocktail reception.

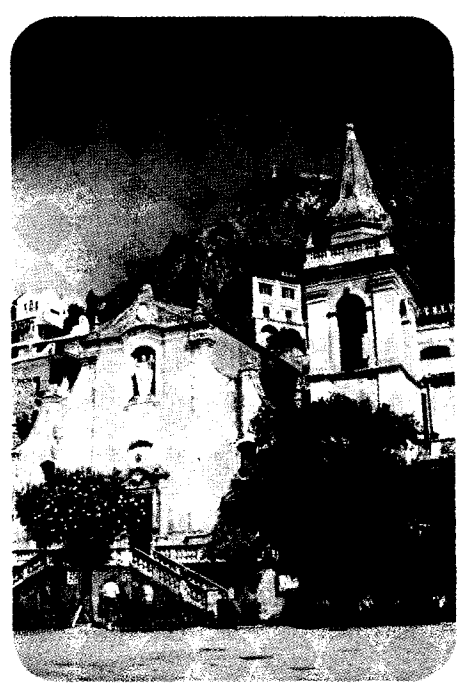
Saturday, May 11
NICE, FRANCE | DISEMBARKATION | USA
The *Sun Bay I* arrives this morning in Nice. You'll disembark and transfer to the airport for the return flight to the U.S.

TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OUR OPTIONAL EXTENSION IN NICE

May 11 – 13, 2002

Located in the heart of the French Riviera, Nice is one of the Mediterranean's most beautiful cities, with its lovely gardens, splendid sea-views, and chic boulevards. After disembarking, we visit the Chagall and Matisse museums. In the afternoon, transfer to the deluxe Hotel Meridien. Evening at leisure. The following day, drive to Antibes for a tour of the 16th-century Chateau Grimaldi, home to the Picasso Museum. Continue to St-Paul-de-Vence for lunch. Enjoy an afternoon tour of the old village and a visit to the Maeght Foundation, home to one of the best modern-art collections in the world. Return to Nice in the evening for overnight.

Price per person, double occupancy: $595
(Price includes two nights at the Hotel Meridien, including American breakfast daily, tours as described, and lunch on May 12th.)



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TR; a prominent McCainite website regularly castigates ruling Republicans in a column called "The Bull Moose," named after the third party TR founded after bolting the GOP in 1912.

What are the parallels between TR and McCain? What ideology did TR represent? And who best champions his ideals today? Edmund Morris does not address these questions, but *Theodore Rex*—together with other recent volumes about TR—does provide raw material for such a consideration.

■

TR's muscular idealism is the dominant tradition in U.S. foreign policy.

■

Start with foreign policy. Though TR gained a reputation as a reckless war hawk, his own presidency did not see a single major war. Instead he became the first American to win the Nobel Peace Prize, for his role in ending the Russo–Japanese War of 1905. This was no accident, for (like Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan) he often displayed a caution in diplomacy at odds with his popular reputation.

His geopolitical skill was on full display during a 1902 showdown with Germany. Venezuela had reneged on its debt; Germany responded—as Western countries did, in those days—by dispatching gunboats. TR deemed Germany's deployment a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, and sent the bulk of the Navy—under Admiral George Dewey, the hero of the Spanish–American War—on "maneuvers" to the region. He did not bluster in public, or issue "demands" that might back Kaiser Wilhelm II into a corner; instead he told the German ambassador in a private chat that "I should be obliged to interfere, by force if necessary, if the Germans took any action which looked like the acquisition of territory in Venezuela or elsewhere along the Caribbean." After the Kaiser took the hint, TR did not gloat. In order to avoid embarrassing Berlin, he apparently went so far as to order all evidence of this exchange expurgated from the archives.

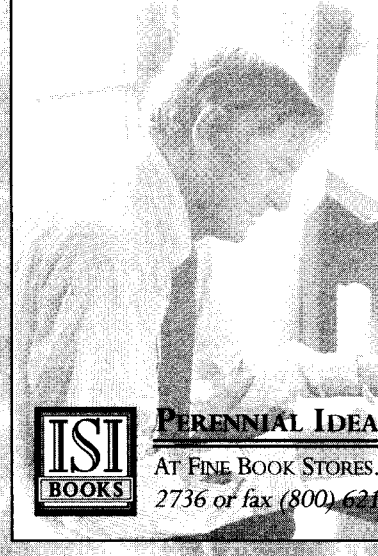
As this incident makes clear, Roosevelt was hawkish but not recklessly so. His philosophy was a simple one: peace through strength. He did not believe the U.S. should go around irritating strong powers unless it had the means to impose its will. He condemned as "prize jackasses" those who combined "the unready hand with the unbridled tongue"—a criticism aimed at Woodrow Wilson, but one that applies equally to Bill Clinton, another interventionist who lacked the will to implement his good intentions.

This is not to suggest that Roosevelt disdained all considerations of morality in foreign policy; the attempts by Henry Kissinger and other advocates of realpolitik to claim him for their camp won't wash. As police commissioner of New York, TR had atop his desk a tablet inscribed, "Aggressive fighting for the right is the noblest sport the world affords." He acted on this belief when he helped whoop America into a war to liberate the Cuban people from "murderous oppression," and when he refused to support a pro-American president of Panama who had gained power through election fraud.

Roosevelt was neither an "idealist" like Jimmy Carter nor a "realist" like George H. W. Bush. Instead, like Reagan and FDR, he combined these two strands, and used American might to champion American ideals. Today, Sen. McCain is an eloquent champion of this brand of foreign policy, but his views are not so different from those of President George W. Bush or, for that matter, those of centrist Democrats like Joe Lieberman and Richard Holbrooke. This muscular idealism is the dominant tradition in U.S. foreign policy.

TR's domestic views are harder to translate into the modern context. On most issues he was (like Disraeli and Bismarck) a conservative reformer, disdaining both reaction and revolution. He condemned the "malefactors of great wealth" and insisted upon vigorous enforcement of the antitrust laws. In response to scandals uncovered by "muckrakers"—a term he popularized—Roosevelt created the Department of Commerce and Labor, and signed into law the Pure Food and Drug Act. But he was as troubled by the misbehavior of

William F. Buckley Jr.
A Bibliography
Ed. by William F. Meehan III
Intro. by George H. Nash
$29.95 hc 270 pp. Illustrated
ISBN: 1-882926-66-8 (Dec.)



Since the publication of *God and Man at Yale* in 1951, William F. Buckley Jr. has been the most visible spokesman for American conservatism. He has also been one of the most prolific. This volume, a complete bibliography of Buckley's written work from 1951 through 2000, is a fitting way to mark Buckley's fiftieth year as a public intellectual. Includes previously unpublished photographs.

WILLIAM F. MEEHAN III is executive director of the Minnesota Association of Scholars and editor of the forthcoming *Conversations with William F. Buckley Jr.*

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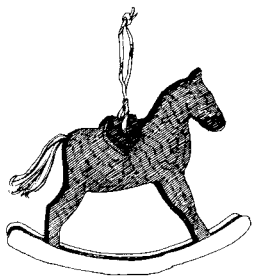
labor unions as by that of corporations, and he never went nearly as far as most reformers wanted him to. His great passion (aside from warfare) was the outdoors; his big achievement the expansion of the national parks. But even here he was no extremist: He disdained John Muir's purist brand of conservation in favor of Gifford Pinchot's pragmatic approach, which allowed logging and mining of national forests.



James MacGregor Burns and Susan Dunn suggest in *The Three Roosevelts* (Atlantic Monthly Press, 678 pp., $37.50) that there was an essential continuum between the views of TR and those of his relatives Franklin and Eleanor. They quote William Allen White, who knew both TR and FDR: "When the New Deal came with its program, it went little further than Colonel Roosevelt's Progressive Party had gone twenty years before." Burns and Dunn argue that the TR reform legacy was carried on by JFK, LBJ, and Carter, only to be snuffed out by Ronald Reagan.

The implication is that TR, had he lived so long, would not only have joined the Democratic party but also stayed within its ranks as it moved ever further left; but it's more likely that he would have become disaffected and—like Reagan—abandoned the Democrats. TR was, for example, eager to expand federal protection of the wild, but would he be in favor of more federal parks today, when Washington already owns almost 60 percent of the land in the western states? TR's abiding passion was not for big government per se, but rather for reform measures aimed at those who abused their power. Today those abuses are as likely to be found in bloated government bureaucracies or in labor unions as in the corporate sector.

Who best embodies the Republican reformist impulse today? McCain supporters think the answer is obvious, but it isn't. True, McCain has some claim to the mantle because of his support for campaign-contribution limits. (TR, too, proposed campaign-finance restrictions in 1912, though he had been perfectly happy to accept huge checks from wealthy donors for his 1904 reelection campaign.) But George Bush might with equal plausibility claim the mantle with his advocacy of faith-based initiatives and Social Security privatization.

The struggle over TR's policy legacy will continue, but his qualities of character were an equally important factor in his elevation to Mount Rushmore. With his boyish enthusiasms, ranging from bear hunting to simplified spelling, TR charmed the world. His mannerisms—the chopping hands, flashing teeth, and exclamations of "Bully!"—have passed into legend. His occupations, from author to rancher to cavalry commander to police commissioner, are enough to fill a dozen résumés. Even more impressive, if less obvious to the public, was his erudition; TR was the greatest intellectual to occupy the White House in the 20th century.

The Selected Letters of Theodore Roosevelt (Cooper Square Press, 464 pp., $32), edited by H. W. Brands, demonstrates that he was a vigorous, elegant, and often humorous writer. Nothing better conveys the breadth of his learning than a 1903 letter responding to a question about what he had read during the first two years of his administration. To quote only a small sample:

> Parts of Herodotus; the first and seventh books of Thucydides; all of Polybius; a little of Plutarch; Aeschylus' Orestean Trilogy; Sophocles' *Seven Against Thebes*; Euripides' *Hippolytus* and *Bacchae*; and Aristophanes' *Frogs*. . . . [Biographies, in French, of Prince Eugene, Adm. de Ruyter, Turenne, and Sobieski]. . . . *Macbeth*; *Twelfth Night*; *Henry the Fourth*; *Henry the Fifth*; *Richard the Second* . . . Church's *Beowulf*; Morris' translation of the *Heimskringla*. . . . Sienkiewicz's *Fire and Sword* . . . *Rob Roy*; *Waverly* . . . *Pickwick Papers*; *Nicholas Nickleby*; *Vanity Fair*.

Today, politicians don't even write their own speeches; Roosevelt churned out speeches, innumerable letters, and a steady stream of books and articles. And therein lies the vast gulf between Roosevelt and his would-be imitators. It takes more than "progressive" noises, or even wartime heroism, to make another TR. There was, alas, only one. **NR**

Golden Grouse

DAVID KLINGHOFFER

Political Fictions, by Joan Didion (Knopf, 338 pp., $25)

GETTING a hold on Joan Didion, the essayist and novelist, is tricky. She's someone who as a high-school girl in central California "on the whole . . . preferred to spend time" with people who "hung out in gas stations." This she states on the first page of the first of the essays in this book. On the other hand, she writes mainly for *The New York Review of Books*, from which these essays about the last four presidential elections are collected, and sees the world much as do the bulk of its readers. You won't find the *NYRB* on sale in any gas-station magazine racks.

With all her contradictions, Didion is always worth reading; not chiefly for the conclusions she draws—here, about American politics and the "disenfranchisement" of voters by a quasi-conspiracy of the liberal media acting on behalf of right-wing pooh-bahs—but for her style. Or, more aptly perhaps, for her schtick.

The key to understanding this schtick is to realize that she comes from Sacramento, the wasteland of heat and boredom from which the state of California is governed. Her pioneer-stock family were Republicans from way back. As she tells us in her introduction, she would have remained a Republican, voting for Barry Goldwater in every presidential election if she'd been given the opportunity. But then came the usurpation of the party by inauthentic conservatives like Ronald Reagan, interested less in keeping government small and frugal than in using it to advance sinister designs having to do with "moral rearmament." So, out of loyalty to the

Mr. Klinghoffer is editorial director of *Toward Tradition* and author of *The Lord Will Gather Me In*.

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Didion family's GOP roots, she became a Democrat.

In the decades since she graduated from Berkeley, she has moved back and forth between New York and Los Angeles; and everything she has written can be understood as a working out of her vision of herself as a Sacramento girl peering at this world from the perspective of her lost pioneer-stock Republican family. That's the schtick. The decay of families like hers has been a theme in her novels, beginning with the first, *Run River*, about a decayed old-stock Sacramento-delta family that had probably been voting Republican from way back.

The schtick manifests itself in a certain delicious paranoia, which can be enjoyed even in Didion's nonfiction if you think of the nonfiction as if it were fiction. The basic theme of this book is that somehow both liberals and conservatives have an interest in narrowing the field of crucial voters. Sometimes these voters are called the Reagan Democrats, sometimes the Perot voters; in Didion's view, both parties assiduously cultivate this swing vote through a symbolic language of campaign platitudes, while the rest of the public is progressively turned off from politics and ceases to vote altogether.

Now, Didion wonders what would happen if this swing constituency, which speaks to the political class in focus groups where they are fed cold cuts and paid $35 per sitting, were to turn "revolutionary." Already she has observed, in the impeachment of Bill Clinton, "certain factors that seemed distinctly exotic to the politics of the United States." In other words, a failed coup: "What we now know occurred was . . . a covert effort to advance a particular agenda by bringing down a president." This is of course a fiction—a "political fiction," if you will—but it's expressed with such a distinct style, and creates such a delicately terrorized atmosphere, that a reader in the correct mood won't begrudge her the fantasy of her right-wing takeover plot. You have, of course, to be the kind of reader who enjoys Robert Ludlum novels.

For such a reader, the little Didionesque notes are highly enjoyable. There is, for example, the use of certain repeated phrases to enhance the atmosphere. For decades, she has been very keen on the word "certain," with its hint of paradox and danger: "There were certain people who ran the story in Vietnam, there were certain people in Central America, there were certain people in Washington." There is also the phrase "there is" or "there was"; the following series is taken from pages 138

■

Didion's schtick manifests itself in a certain delicious paranoia.

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and 139: "There was the picture, taken the day before the Georgia, Maryland, and Colorado primaries . . . ," "There was, when Governor Clinton was campaigning . . . ," "There was the apparently unmonitored decision . . . ," "There was the equivocal response to the May 1992 Los Angeles riots . . ."

There is also the telltale use of middle initials. Anyone designated by his full name, including middle initial, is to be regarded as one of the covert operatives seeking to bring down the presidency, or a stooge of the covert operatives. Once she has included you in this dark fraternity, you are never again referred to without the middle initial: "William J. Bennett," "Robert H. Bork," "John J. DiIulio Jr.," even "Thomas L. Friedman." There is the use of scare quotes, which I recall ("I recall" is another Didion phrase) a high-school English-composition teacher warning me against but which in fact lend a delectable echo of dread. Thus, in Didion's view, the conservative Independent Women's Forum isn't a women's group but rather a "women's group." One doesn't homeschool one's children; one "homeschools" them.

Nor do you have to regard Newt Gingrich—"Newton Leroy Gingrich," in Didion's telling—as a weird, squirming spider to be held at arm's length, as she does, to enjoy her 1995 dissection of him ("Newt Gingrich, Superstar"). She has particular fun with the nutty Gingrich vision of the future in his book *Window of Opportunity*, which

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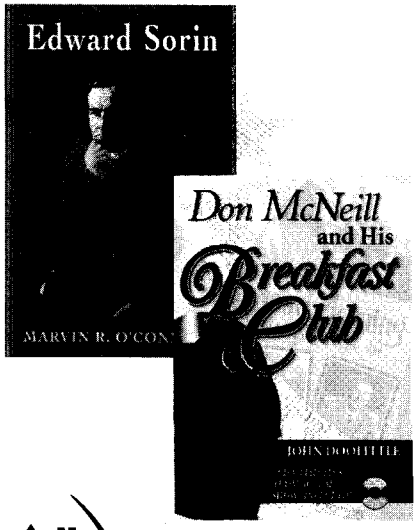

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includes, among other things, his predictions of a "diagnostic chair" or "personalized health chair." She writes: "To know that large numbers of Americans are concerned about getting adequate medical care is one thing; to give them the willies by talking about their 'health chairs' is quite another, suggesting not the future but the past, the drone of the small-town autodidact, the garrulous bore in the courthouse square." This is joyfully mean writing that will give a guilty chuckle even to those who consider Gingrich a basically positive figure in recent political history.

Once the charm of the Didion schtick has worn off, however, the plain facts begin to appear: first, that her big observations aren't always very original. Often the punchline of her *New York Review of Books* political reportage is just a cliché from the trove of clichés you'd hear at any Manhattan Sunday brunch attended by the kind of people who read *The New York Review of Books*. So, for example, she concludes about President Reagan and his role in Iran-Contra: "This was a president who understood viscerally . . . that what makes a successful motion picture is exactly a foolish enterprise, a lonely quest, a lost cause, a fight against the odds: undertaken, against the best advice of those who say it cannot be done, by someone Americans can root for. *Cut, print.*" In other words, Reagan was basically just an actor portraying a president. For this news we needed to read an essay some 18,000 words in length?

Second, paranoia tends (another favorite Didion word: "tends") to go hand in hand with cynicism, and cynicism really does wear thin after 300-plus pages. There is almost nothing about which Didion is not cynical, from George W. Bush's motivation in embracing Marvin Olasky's concept of faith-based organizations (purely political) to the idea of medical savings accounts ("a way of phasing out the concept of medical insurance by calling the phase-out 'Medisave'"). There are a few exceptions to her pervasive cynicism. There is Jerry Brown's 1992 presidential candidacy (when campaigning in New York, Brown would "camp out" in the apartment of Didion and her husband). And, of course, there is anything having to do with old-time California, including Gov. Pat Brown and her old pioneer-stock grandfather, who warned her against the phrase "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance. "It's not constitutional," he said, "so don't say it."

For paranoia to be really effective, there has to be something or someone—a beloved person or country—about whose safety you can be paranoid. This is what marks the best paranoid thrillers, whether movies or novels: There's always a wife, girlfriend, child, or whatever, in danger. To be the subject of paranoia, the beloved must *exist*—and not, like the Sacramento of the 1950s, have passed into oblivion half a century ago. It's not clear what Didion finds lovable about today's endangered America. Till the rise of inauthentic conservatism, she tells us, American politics was "an essentially pragmatic process by which the differing needs and rights of the nation's citizens [got] balanced and to some degree met." As an ideal to be striven for, this vision of politics is rather underwhelming; and her paranoia therefore tends to shade over into sourness. One of her essays in *The New York Review of Books* every couple of years is great fun; at book length, however, the reader himself is left feeling rather sour. **NR**

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Sheen of Eloquence

CHARLOTTE ALLEN

America's Bishop: The Life and Times of Fulton J. Sheen, by Thomas C. Reeves (Encounter, 479 pp., $25.95)

In the early 1950s, Fulton Sheen was the most famous Catholic in America. Already well known as a radio personality, Sheen in 1952 launched a weekly half-hour TV program called *Life Is Worth Living*. Attired in full purple regalia (he was auxiliary bishop of New York), Sheen each week stood in front of a studio camera and talked for 27 minutes and 20 seconds, without notes or a teleprompter. The speeches, actually carefully rehearsed and preceded by at least 30 hours of preparation on Sheen's part, avoided sectarianism and mainly concerned such topics as patriotism, freedom, democracy, right and wrong, and, very often, the menace of atheistic Communism.

The program was aired by the tiny Du Mont network, facing off against Milton Berle's show on NBC and Frank Sinatra's on CBS; Sheen's ratings soared, driving Sinatra off the air and attracting millions of non-Catholic as well as Catholic viewers. (The show remains the most widely viewed religious series in the history of television.) Sheen won the 1952 Emmy award for most outstanding television personality, beating out such competitors as Jimmy Durante and Lucille Ball; a *Radio and Television Daily* nationwide poll named him television's "man of the year." In 1955, the program moved to ABC, with a prime-time slot opposite Groucho Marx's *You Bet Your Life*. (Sheen, still preoccupied with Communism, quipped, "Viewers will now have a choice of two Marxes—Groucho or Karl.") Sheen's face appeared on the covers of *Time*, *TV Guide*, *Look*, and

Charlotte Allen is author of *The Human Christ: The Search for the Historical Jesus.*

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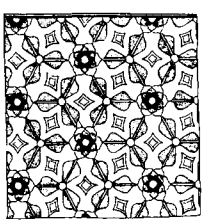
Colliers; a young actor named Ramon Estevez changed his name to Martin Sheen, in the celebrity bishop's honor and with his permission.

By 1957, however, Sheen was off the air and on the slide into obscurity that would mark the last 22 years of his life. In part, Sheen was a victim of his archrival, the iron-willed and truculent Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York, who abruptly forced Sheen off TV by notifying ABC that the bishop no longer had his permission to preach on the air. Spellman was undoubtedly envious of Sheen's popularity; the relationship between the two had quickly become acrimonious, and culminated in a quarrel that went all the way up to the Vatican. Sheen, once a sought-after Lenten speaker in New York churches, was suddenly persona non grata. There had earlier been talk that he would be made a cardinal, but his progress up the ladder of clerical advancement was now clearly at an end—and so was the kind of Catholic culture that he represented.

The received story of American Catholicism is that the Church sailed robustly and confidently through the postwar prosperity, only to be deliberately undermined in the 1960s by the radical priests, nuns, and bishops who hijacked Vatican II; in fact, the old style of U.S. Catholicism was already dying out by the end of the 1950s. In this careful and sympathetically written, if not stylistically dazzling, biography, Thomas Reeves (author of the best-selling JFK biography *A Question of Character*) reconstructs the lost world that formed Fulton Sheen: the robust U.S. Catholic culture of which Sheen's TV triumph turned out to be the last gasp.



Reeves's impressive portrait of that bygone age is based on dozens of interviews as well as sheaves of Sheen's own papers and archival material. The papers are undoubtedly of greater intellectual interest than those of the typical 1950s TV host; Sheen had not just a Ph.D. (in philosophy) from Louvain, but the even more prestigious *agrégé* degree from the same institution.

As Reeves documents, Sheen's public and private lives were an unsettling combination of the unquestionably devout and the unabashedly worldly. After a brief stint as a parish priest, he became a faculty member at Catholic University; but his real interest lay in building an off-campus career as a public speaker. His eloquence is undeniable; his writings demonstrate a command of classical rhetorical tropes that every speechwriter today should study. Soon enough, he was preaching regularly at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, and in 1930, he launched a radio program, *The Catholic Hour*, that stayed on the air until Sheen decamped for television in 1952. His oratory could be poignantly moving, as in his 1938 speech at a New York rally against Communist atrocities: "Those who cannot pull God down from heaven are driving His creatures from the earth."

At the same time, Sheen was assiduously cultivating the rich and the celebrated. Over his lifetime he made hundreds of converts to Catholicism, and many of them had important names: Clare Boothe Luce, the newspaper pundit Heywood Broun, the former Communist party leaders Louis Budenz and Elizabeth Bentley, and—perhaps Sheen's biggest catch—Henry Ford II. While at Catholic University, Sheen drove a black Cadillac (donated) and lived in a custom-built house in a wealthy Washington neighborhood far away from the university's shabby environs; this did not endear him to his underpaid colleagues at Catholic. In 1950, he quit his professorship to head up the U.S. office of the Vatican's missionary and relief organization. Although carelessly generous with the money that flooded to him from his books and speeches, he also indulged in vanities: living at the toniest New York addresses, wearing the finest haberdashery, even—inexplicably—padding his genuinely impressive résumé with a doctorate in theology that he had never earned.

In 1966, Cardinal Spellman succeeded in getting the 71-year-old Sheen removed from his Manhattan posting and appointed bishop of Rochester, N.Y.; to a cosmopolite like Sheen, this was tantamount to a Siberian exile. At this new job, Sheen failed conspicuously. He abandoned the relentless anti-Communism of his earlier years—when he had, among other things, defended Joe McCarthy—in favor of an undifferentiated 1960s liberalism: He opposed the Vietnam War, pushed post–Vatican II ecclesiastical changes aggressively,

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and advocated farfetched Great Society programs rather than simple charity toward the poor. These ideas did not sit well with his conservative upstate New York flock. In what was surely his most bizarre move, in 1968, Sheen proposed tearing down St. Bridget's, an inner-city church in Rochester, and giving the land to the federal government for a housing project. The St. Bridget's fiasco prompted noisy demonstrations by outraged parishioners, and led Sheen to resign in 1969, a year short of the mandatory retirement age for bishops of 75.

His name was no longer exactly a household one, and his health was failing, but he moved back to New York City (his archenemy, Spellman, had died in 1967) and continued to travel, preach, and write. In 1977, he had open-heart surgery, the oldest patient at the time to have undergone and survived the procedure; after that came prostate cancer. He

■

Reeves's important and candid biography gives us Fulton Sheen, warts and all.

■

was almost always bedridden and in pain. Sheen wrote his autobiography from his sickbed, a crucifix in his hand, his editor from Doubleday at his side. When he died, on December 9, 1979, the autobiography was not quite finished (it was eventually fixed up and published in 1980), but it revealed that the dross of long-ago, and perhaps not-so-long-ago, vanity had been thoroughly burnt away. "I should have resembled more closely Christ, Who had nowhere to lay his head," Sheen wrote remorsefully. "I was like Peter, who . . . 'followed the Lord far off.'"

Reeves's important and candid biography gives us a warts-and-all portrait of a major figure in religious history, a man who preached Christianity with vigor and eloquence, and ended up himself being a model of the Christian attitude toward suffering and adversity. Like St. Peter, he was taken where he would not go; but—also like St. Peter—he evidenced a holiness of words and example that will outlast his human failings. **NR**

■ SHELF LIFE ■

Word Up

MICHAEL POTEMRA

THE Revised Standard Version (1952) is generally considered the most accurate translation of the Bible into English, but it is no longer very widely available. (Ignatius Press has a densely printed Catholic edition.) As its name suggests, the RSV is a revision of an earlier translation: the beloved King James Version of 1611. The RSV was itself supplanted by the 1989 *New* Revised Standard Version.

And this New RSV poses a problem. The progress of biblical scholarship in recent years has made possible an ever greater accuracy in translation; but alongside these intellectual advances, we have also seen the rise of political correctness, which too often mandates *inaccuracies* in translation. Most of these have to do with gender. Where, for example, the Greek literally says "brothers," the NRSV says "friends." Not a huge change, it would appear, but once the principle is admitted that texts—especially texts of this level of importance—can be so casually bowdlerized for political reasons, scholarship and understanding will suffer.

We can see this in one of the NRSV's most egregious errors: In previous translations of the Book of Ezekiel, God addressed Ezekiel as "O son of man"; in the NRSV God addresses him as "O mortal." The only conceivable reason for this inaccuracy is that the translators are making a desperate attempt to avoid the forbidden words "son" and "man." But, as is typically the case when P.C. diktats are allowed to take precedence over intellectual honesty, the result is the creation of even deeper problems. Remember why, in this case, the words "son" and "man" have to be avoided: In contemporary pseudo-feminist cant, such gender-specific words are believed to "privilege" human beings of one gender over those of another . . . so we should just snip them out.

But then we have to put something else in their place: hence, the word "mortal." But the problem with that is that the Bible, considered not just as an anthology of disparate works but as a sequential narrative, ends by fundamentally calling into question the mortality of man, and offering an alternative. To have God address a man in the middle of the book as "O mortal" suggests to the reader that mortality is the human essence, as conceived by its Creator: an implication without basis in the original text.

Clearly, the needless contortions exacted by political correctness have intellectual consequences. But instead of patronizing readers with inaccurate and misleading circumlocutions, wouldn't it be better to let the text—as far as possible—speak for itself? Indeed, wouldn't it be better to have a new version of the RSV that doesn't pander to P.C.?

As if to prove the supply-side theory of culture—that entrepreneurs will try to meet needs and wants even before they are articulated—there has just been published a new translation of the Bible that seems to fit the bill exactly. *The Holy Bible: English Standard Version* (Crossway, 1,328 pp., $19.99) is a very conservative updating of the RSV, changing the RSV only when the change is clearly an improvement. In Mark 12:2, for example, the RSV spoke of "the fruit of the vineyard"; NRSV changed "fruit" to "produce"; the ESV changes it back to "fruit." And the ESV—like the RSV before it—is statelier in its language than the conservative New International Version (one of the most popular translations among evangelical Christians). When John the Baptist sees Jesus in John 1:29, the NIV has him say, "Look, the Lamb of God": The ESV keeps the traditional (and far from obscure) word "Behold."

In some cases, the ESV is an improvement on the RSV. One example is James 4:4: In the RSV, the apostle chastises his audience as "unfaithful creatures," which sounds like a complaisant Englishwoman good-naturedly rebuking her ex-husbands; in the ESV, James calls his audience "you adulterous people"—which lends a bit more gravity to the charge. Another change is unusually bold: For many years now, the trend in translation of Isaiah 7:14—where the prophet declares, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive" (KJV)—has been toward rendering the "virgin" as merely a "young

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woman." Even RSV adopted this change. But ESV goes back to the KJV, and calls her a "virgin"—in accord with long centuries of commentary that have viewed the passage as a messianic prophecy.

In the ESV, the Isaiah 7:14 passage stands out as a rather provocative choice by the translators; it only serves to point up how little—in general— the ESV's renderings have been influenced by non-scholarly considerations. If you're looking for a Bible that tells you what the text says—as opposed to the polemical points the translators might wish to score—the ESV is a great choice.

■ As someone who has been known to confuse the Russian pianist Nikita Magaloff with the Russian film director Nikita Mikhalkov—and even with the great Soviet hockey player Boris Mikhailov—I am grateful for good advice on music whenever I can get it. Very recently, a true classic of the genre was published: *The Essential Canon of Classical Music* (North Point, 770 pp., $40), by David Dubal. The author, a Juilliard professor and host of a music-appreciation program on New York's WQXR radio station, has compiled a monumental survey of the Western art-music tradition from Guillaume de Machaut (c. 1300–1377) to William Bolcom (born 1938).

Dubal discusses the work of more than 200 composers, offering suggested recordings for each. For the sixty most important composers—from Handel to Britten—he provides biographical essays and capsule discussions of particular works. The book amounts to a Lifetime Listening Plan, and it's more necessary now than ever before, as listeners are faced with the most dizzying array of choices in history. In 1900, Dubal tells us, Vivaldi "was virtually unknown"; now he is a well-known classic, just one of the rediscovered masters with countless works available on CD. Today, one can hold comfortably in one's hand the complete symphonies of Haydn; as recently as twenty years ago a wheelbarrow wouldn't have been able to hold the vinyl version. When everything is available, choices get tough; you need the advice of an expert. Dubal's solid book is a valuable work of reference, and a musical education in itself. **NR**

■ **MUSIC** ■

The Un-Cookie Cutters

JAY NORDLINGER

NOVEMBER in New York saw two unusual recitals by two unusual pianists: Alicia de Larrocha and Ivan Moravec. Each has been performing for as long as most concertgoers can remember. Each is an example of "supreme individuality"—to use a critic's cliché—at the keyboard. Each plays the general repertory, while placing special emphasis on the music of his own country. Each has a multitude of fans, who amount to a cult following.

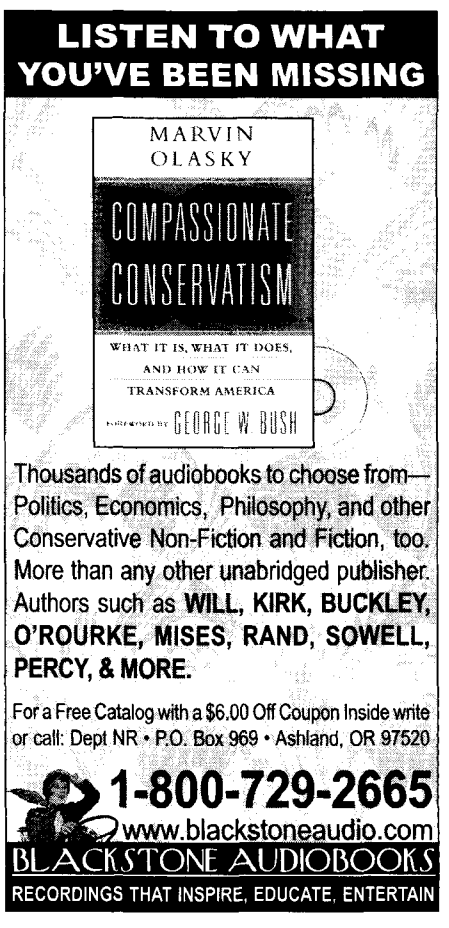
To hear them both, in the space of about a week, was to be reminded, indeed, of an age of "supreme individuality," before the cookie cutters got to work. You can turn on the radio these days and not be able to tell one pianist from the next; but de Larrocha and Moravec—for better or worse (and generally better)—are recognizable in the first few bars.

De Larrocha has had the "bigger" career: Her fame is wider, she has made many more recordings, and she has slogged through many, many more tours. In fact, de Larrocha is one of the hardest-working people in the business, a tour-oholic, someone who seems to have spent as much time on stage as off. Her career has been devised and managed by the legendary and notorious Herbert Breslin, who has also "agented" Luciano Pavarotti.

Born in Barcelona in 1923, de Larrocha was a star at an early age, a student of Frank Marshall, who in turn had been a student of Enrique Granados (along with Isaac Albéniz the greatest composer to emerge from Spain). De Larrocha is not the only Barcelona girl to have made good: The soprano Victoria de los Angeles is a lifelong friend. For many years, de los Angeles/de Larrocha duo recitals—all-Spanish—were one of the great, exotic treats of the concert scene.

De Larrocha has played everything: Mozart (gobs of it), Beethoven, Schumann, the French Impressionists. A tiny woman with modest hands—only in terms of size—she has nonetheless taken on the most virtuosic works, not excluding the fearsome Rachmaninoff Concerto No. 3, which she recorded with André Previn (an album that is now, sadly, "nla"—the cruel music-world indicator of "no longer available").

It is for the Spanish repertory that she is best known and most appreciated, however, because it is through her that we—most of us—actually *know* the Spanish repertory. Arthur Rubinstein played some of this music, as he, of course, played some of everything. He championed Albéniz and Manuel de Falla and Federico Mompou. He was wildly popular in Spain, and throughout the Spanish-speaking world. There is even a famous photo of him in a matador's costume.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But it is mainly through the tireless Alicia de Larrocha that we have heard the works—major and minor—of Albéniz and Granados, not to mention a hundred lesser composers, such as Joaquín Turina, Carlos Suriñach, Xavier Montsalvatge, and Oscar Esplá (plus the exquisite Baroque master Antonio Soler). This is a repertory that should be mined and exploited by serious and imaginative pianists. But the awful question comes: Who will play these works when de Larrocha is "nla" to do so? Are we to be left at home with our de Larrocha recordings? Fortunately, there are a lot of them.

On November 19 at Alice Tully Hall, de Larrocha presented an all-Granados program, featuring that composer's magnum opus, *Goyescas*. This work and Albéniz's *Iberia* form the heart of the Spanish literature for the piano. De Larrocha has championed *Goyescas* all her life, and—although too much can be made of this sort of thing—she stands today as a true Living Link: from the composer, to his protégé Frank Marshall, to herself. Her playing of this music is sometimes called definitive; but that is no reason other pianists should shy away from it, even as they would not shy away from a Rachmaninoff concerto—after *Rachmaninoff* has played it, for heaven's sake!

De Larrocha is, as always, stately and dignified as she makes her way—a little slowly now—to the piano. Her once Spanish-black hair is now a handsome white. Her playing? It remains de Larrochian, only more so: that is, her mannerisms have become more pronounced, as tends to happen to every musician. De Larrocha has a big, robust, "fat" sound. Her playing is generally detached—not legato or limpid—and it can be percussive, even harsh; but it is always in balance (as one note relates to another), and it always makes musical sense.

In Spanish music, rhythm (along with color) is everything, and de Larrocha—in whatever she plays, Spanish or no—has fabulously good rhythm. So too, she has always been known for the clarity and "snap" of her playing. These qualities are still in evidence—but the fingers are a little sluggish now, and the clarity can sometimes turn muddy.

In choosing *Goyescas* to play, she certainly didn't make it easy on herself, technically. This is ferociously difficult music—Lisztian, practically—and the pianist simply cannot manage it as she once did. The playing often seemed tired and effortful. Yet when the music was calmer, less demanding, her musicianship came through, and she was more like her old self. The famous *Maja y el ruiseñor* was beautiful, touchingly shaped. The final item on the printed program was *El pelele*, a showpiece and long a surefire de Larrocha killer. She got through it all right—but it lacked its typical sparkle. One had to wonder whether de Larrocha still enjoyed her work, after too many thousands of concerts to count. When we stood for her, it was more for the career than for the evening.

■

Who will give us Spanish music once de Larrocha is no longer available to do so?

■

But de Larrocha came very much to life for her three (Granados) encores. The first was a little piece she learned "when I was six or seven." It was sweetly and nobly rendered. Then came a couple of *Danzas españolas*, which were full of the old rigor, and clarity, and snap. And then with a little wave, and a satisfied expression, she was off—to the next engagement, no doubt.

This pianist has her obdurate critics as well as her fiercely adoring fans. But no one disputes that for well over a half-century now she has been an utterly distinctive pianist, and probably—unfortunately—irreplaceable.

Our other pianist, utterly distinctive—Ivan Moravec—was born in Prague in 1930. He has had a somewhat quiet career, except to his worshipful fans, for whom he is a roaring lion of the keyboard, if an exceptionally reflective one. His records—most of which were made for off-the-beaten-path labels—are treasured as models of graceful, spiritual pianism. He is known—here comes another cliché—as a "poet of the piano." There is truth in this: Moravec has an intimate sound, and his interpretations—of Chopin, in particular—can be rather personal. He is a pianist of great elegance and refinement, a bit of an intellectual, a bit of a philosopher, a man with something to say, musically.

He is best known as a Chopinist, and, secondarily, as an exponent of the Czech repertory (which is both smaller and more ignorable than the Spanish—don't tell the Czechs). His November 27 recital at Carnegie Hall began with Janácek and ended with the 24 *Preludes* of Chopin. From the beginning, Moravec was in total command: of himself and the music at hand. For all his poetry, this is not a prissy or fussy pianist. The Janácek was the *Sonata 1.X.1905 (From the Street)*, a "sonata" (though it is one in name only) that tells a haunting story. The images that Moravec was able to conjure up were almost frightening. This was an emotional reading, but not overly so, because Moravec would be incapable of that—because it would be unmusicianly.

The Chopin *Preludes* give a pianist the chance to show off virtually everything he has. Moravec has plenty, including a still-fluid technique and that gift for expression. He is both nimble and powerful. His dynamics are superb, and his use of the pedal is equally so. He knows where the melody is, and how the composer has embroidered it. He has clearly thought about everything he does—nothing is uncertain. Yet the playing is never studied or "programmed"; it simply flows, persuasively.

Moravec's first encore was a C-major mazurka—Chopin, of course—and it fairly danced through a sunlit Polish field. His second was Brahms's B-minor Capriccio, and it was as characterful and endearing as you will ever hear it—and everyone plays it. Moravec seems to sum up Old World wisdom and flair. He is a kid of 71, but he has the sensibility and self-possession of piano masters in the generations before his. They were not cookie cutters—and to come face-to-face with supreme individuality, over a couple of engaging hours, is to remember why you loved and marveled at music in the first place. **NR**

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Security in the Air

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 13

IT is instructive to catch the emotions on the fly. They do not always yield self-esteem. You furtively hope the bullet will hit the *other* guy not you. The airplane crashes and instinctively you hope it wasn't a terrorist who did it. But a moment later you start thinking about statistics. Maybe it would be *better* if it were a terrorist strike. Fleeting thoughts go down memory lane.

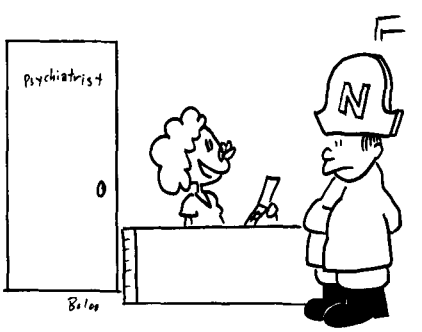
How many casualties have come to us through terrorism in the last 20 years of flying? The civilian victims of September 11 can't be counted because, like nuclear bombs, they overwhelm the picture. So you ask, how many planes have met death on account of terrorist activity? The four spectacular planes of September 11. Then you need to go back to the Egyptian plane whose copilot decided to commit suicide and took everyone down to the sea—on the other hand, that wasn't exactly terrorism, was it? But of course the big one was Lockerbie, 270 dead from terrorist action on a Pan American flight headed for the U.S. And one Air India plane off Ireland in 1985.

The thought materializes: If Monday's New York accident comes in as a terrorist episode, that's bad, but less bad than if it is a maintenance act. Because in the world of data, the chances of losing your life in flight on account of terrorist activity are lower than on account of mechanical failure. These are very low, and tend to diminish every year. At last year's rate, you could fly, say, 1 million flights before finding yourself on the plane with the marginal vulnerability. But (the statistics are raging through the mind), you could fly 20 million flights before you'd find yourself on a plane struck down by terrorists.

Besides, you say to yourself, there is a full-blown war going on against terrorist activity. At the level of mechanical safety, it can be said that there is constant concern to avoid critical problems in the air, but that is a steady kind of thing, not to be compared with the explosion of concern triggered by September 11. One commentator on the Jim Lehrer show was asked whether it was easy for a skilled mechanic so to disrupt a jet engine of the type carried by the fatal Airbus as to make it fall off. Yes, he said. For a skilled mechanic, very easy. However, he said, it was flatly inconceivable that it should happen, given airplane-security procedures. It is one thing to let somebody slip by who is carrying a knife in his briefcase, another to permit someone four hours in an airplane engine with a dozen screwdrivers and filaments of explosive.

So—the thinking is—the problem was mechanical. The airlines are doing about 25 percent less business than before September 11, and they are losing their shirts. The marginal passenger on an airplane costs (virtually) nothing; his absence costs economic survival. The *Los Angeles Times* writes of Eugene and Nikey Key of Palm Desert, scheduled to fly on Delta Air Lines Flight 136 from LAX to New York. They've been around the world by plane and ship six times. They canceled. "His wife said she was simply afraid."

So we read of futuristic devices. Take that useful prefix going the rounds—"bio"—and stick it up before "metrics." Biometrics! "Arriving at New York's La Guardia Airport, an American Airlines passenger proceeds to the nearest kiosk. After swiping her smart card through machine, she presses her index finger on pad attached to the device in order to confirm that she's the authorized holder of the card, and her boarding pass is printed. At the gate, she puts her finger on another reading device to reconfirm her identity, then steps onto the plane."



"Yes, the doctor is in—who shall I say is calling?"

Yes, and with biometrics we make progress on security of the kind they worried about on Monday. But that doesn't bring us security against mechanical failures. For that, you need counter-gravitational devices, and they are out of this world.

Nuclear Babies Stillborn

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 16

THE Northern Alliance gang in Kabul reports that our air force had a really good hit, an American rocket that opened up a Taliban compound that seems to have been a library/laboratory for ultimate war. It stored, in the account of the Associated Press, "room after room filled with papers, formulas and maps . . . some with handwritten Arabic notations." The *Times* of London reported written "descriptions of how the detonation of TNT compresses plutonium into a critical mass, sparking a chain reaction, and ultimately a thermonuclear reaction."

There is a way of contriving an optimistic reading of the Kabul Compound Library, with scattered notes on weapon construction. We can say we don't have much to fear from people who need Atom Bombs for Dummies manuals. That's true, but also it is apparently true that not a great deal of sophistication is required, given the presumptive knowledge of modern scientists, to piece together a nuclear device.

On the specific question of such weaponry in Afghanistan, we bear in mind that President Bush has declined to say that we know the enemy to be without a nuclear repository. Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld would go no further than that he "doubted" they had such weapons. We know that two Pakistani nuclear scientists sympathetic to the Taliban were brought in and questioned in Islamabad. Stretching away from believable commentators on the question, we get to the statement of Osama bin Laden, that in the event the United States used chemical or nuclear weapons, he would retaliate in kind. How far they are (were) from developing a dirty bomb is a fit study for the Rand Corporation in years to come.

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What is a fit subject for the moment is concern over the critical need to take the loose information we have got from the sorcerers' apprentices loose in Afghanistan and apply it to strategic action elsewhere, specifically Iraq.

One reasons reasonably in the matter of nuclear weapons. If we learned at midnight that the Swiss had developed a nuclear bomb, we could turn over in our beds and go back to sleep. On the other hand we know there are active leaders in the world who, if they had the stuff and could profitably deploy it, would not hesitate, for moral reasons, to do so. Saddam Hussein used chemical weapons against the Kurds in northern Iraq. In decades to come it will strike Western moralists as simply unbelievable that, in the 1990s, the United States failed to force its hand against Iraq, notwithstanding that it had international sanction for probing the country for its little quarries of biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons.

In the *New York Times*, William Safire worried last week about the presidential decision to empower military courts to administer justice. He proposed an arresting compromise, namely to inform Osama bin Laden, or whoever is left in the crypt in which he is found, that we require the surrender of the al-Qaeda organization wherever it is encysted, whether in Pakistan or in Libya or in the Philippines or in Indonesia: They must give themselves up or endure the relatively undiscriminating brunt of general wars in the style of ours against Afghanistan.

The idea of an ultimatum is appealing, and ours to Saddam Hussein would be: Remove yourself and your court to the island of Elba, or on Day 3 the following airfields, arsenals, and military camps will be bombed; on Day 5, the following industrial centers; on Day 7, the internal transportation system. Upon your removal, with guaranteed personal safety, an Iraqi unit will exercise power in Baghdad under a U.S./U.N. mandate to identify and eliminate every trace of atomic or biological or chemical research and material.

Remember, too, that we are discovering in Afghanistan the true human subculture, which is the response to liberation, expressed there by shaving beards and removing burqas from the women. After Iraq cooled down, even as France cooled down after Napoleon was finally, verifiably off, we could expect the relief, felt particularly in Iraq, and derivatively in humankind.

How to Handle bin Laden

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 20

NEW YORK. Roy Jenkins is in town, promoting his superb biography of Winston Churchill. The diners were reminded of his eminent career and accomplishments, including a term as home secretary, during which the initiative was taken to abolish capital punishment. At the question period, Barbara Walters asked whether his views on that subject were as adamant as ever, in the age of Osama bin Laden. He replied that what he had most objected to, in 1965, was the "stately procession" of the condemned as, so to speak, they inched their way, seat by seat, cell by cell, toward the gallows.

It will not be that way with Osama, but it warrants reflection to ask: How *will* it be? There's nothing of the innocent-until-proved-guilty business in the air. The only people who question his complicity in terrorism are Islamicist sympathizers who cling to a jurisprudential straw, reminding us of the eleven months required at Nuremberg to prove that Hermann Goering had a hand in promoting aggressive war and killing and torturing an ethnic division of mankind.

But that does not answer the mechanical question, What do we do, after the noose Secretary Rumsfeld refers to, has tightened to the point of isolating Osama in a cave near Kandahar, which cave at the moment of inquiry is encircled by 28,000 soldiers, 238 machine guns, 20 artillery pieces, the opening floodlit, half the world's press, cameras poised, radioing to each other and to the world, with special intensity to those New Yorkers who live in the area of Ground Zero, everyone's eyes trained on the opening from which Osama will have to debouch, in a non-stately approach to the end?

We know that the Defense Department and indeed the State Department do contingency planning. What does the U.S. do if Nation X a) drops a nuclear bomb on Detroit, b) threatens to do so, c) is caught sending missile weapons to Iraq, d) calls for a summit conference to discuss the question of nuclear development? Answer: We a) drop a nuclear bomb on them, b) threaten to do so, c) institute a blockade, d) call for an emergency meeting of the Security Council. Etc.

So how will it be with Osama?

a) He kills himself, and his body, on a gurney, is slid out on a tarpaulin sled.

b) He sends out word that he will emerge on the condition that he is tried by a tribunal the composition of which must be approved by the U.N. Security Council, to which body, he insists, his message should be instantly relayed. He will await the reply of the secretary general.

c) Over the radio, he agrees to surrender provided his imprisoned associates Mohameds Aziz, Busdam, Ceelah, and Daes are given safe passage to Yemen. The reply to that proposal comes in from General Franks by loudspeaker. It is a horselaugh (rendered in Arabic by an aide).

d) Osama announces on the radio that at exactly 2001 hours, he will emerge from the cave, a white flag in his hand, and submit to the conquering forces of evil. President Bush, watching the scene in the Situation Room, earphones over his head, says to General Franks: "We've discussed that contingency. Is the sniper ready?"

e) An entire day goes by. And then nears the completion of a second day. The encircling troops and press preen with apprehension. There is a contingency plan ("My vote," General Franks is heard to whisper to an aide, "was to go with this one at 0100 hours, not the day after tomorrow."): If Osama is not out at 2400, a Stinger missile will be fired into the cavity of the mountain, followed by a rain of smoke bombs. Whoever is in there along with Osama will be dead or asphyxiated.

And of course there are the bloody alternatives, most likely that somehow he will have got away before we situate him in that cave. And already we wonder: Who would take him in? It isn't that, like one of the German Nazis, he could easily pass himself off as an itinerant rug dealer, and go off to live in Argentina. For one thing, that would collapse his entire afflatus, and this is the one risk he would surely not take. For another, the kind of screening that will go into effect if Osama has escaped Afghanistan will make any country that enfolds him edgier than even North Korea would wish to be.

The Pentagon probably has a contingency plan for that scenario, but it is secret, and not even Barbara Walters can find out what it is.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

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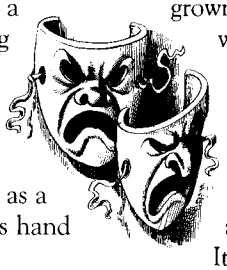
■ THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER ■

FLORENCE KING

NR's anti-porn issue breathed new life into an old idea I've been mulling over for a long time, so here it is: The Blue Lagoon Syndrome.

Everyone has seen the 1980 movie with Brooke Shields, but few remember the 1949 British version starring Jean Simmons, and hardly anyone has read the 1908 novel on which the movies were based. But taken together, along with the sniggering 1991 spin-off, *Return to the Blue Lagoon*, they offer a case study of our era's defining paradox: Sex isn't sexy.



The novel was written by Henry de Vere Stacpoole (1863–1931), an Anglo-Irishman who sailed the world as a ship's doctor before turning his hand to popular literature.

Essentially a hack, his only bestseller was *The Blue Lagoon*. Set in Victorian times, it's the story of two upper-middle-class cousins, Emmeline and Dick, both eight, who survive a shipwreck and are marooned on a South Sea island with an old salt named Paddy, the ship's carpenter. Knowing himself to be ill, and sensing that rescue will never come, Paddy teaches Dick all he knows about boats and the sea so the children can survive without him if necessary. This is exactly what happens; he dies a couple of years later and they are on their own.

The novel's premise is that two children of their time and class would be utterly ignorant of the facts of life. The advance publicity for the 1949 movie drove this point home, e.g., "They didn't know what passion was . . . until they discovered it together!" The idea of two virgins knowing instinctively what to do hurled my junior high school into a tizzy and guaranteed our identification with the characters. Em and Dick (renamed Michael) were even dumber than we were, yet they managed to figure it all out for themselves without benefit of adults, convincing my best girlfriend and me that it was no longer necessary to ask our mothers questions about wedding nights and such because it was merely a matter of doing what comes naturally.

Our identification did not go beyond fantasies, however, because there was a safety valve at work. We didn't realize it, but our responses were shaped and contained by the unofficial censorship of the times. In 1949, a movie about teenagers coupling on a desert island could not cast teenage actors in the roles, so we were actually identifying with a certified grown-up, 21-year-old Jean Simmons, who had already played opposite Olivier in *Hamlet*. The casting tamped us down in another way: Simmons's beauty had such a grandmother-approved wholesomeness that she always looked as if she had just been scrubbed. It's hard to copy the sexual behavior of someone described as the picture of health.

The restraints on moviemakers forced them to omit one of the most powerful scenes in the book, when Em menstruates for the first time and thinks she is dying. Opponents of censorship cite the artistic power of "reality," but the safety valve of 1949 proved that art's ultimate power is imagination. We had just started menstruating ourselves so the subject was surely on our minds, yet we never wondered about how Em reacted to the event: We were too caught up in the story.

Nor did we expect to see her looking pregnant; nobody "showed" in 1949 movies, even married women. After their first and only kiss on a moonlit beach, the scene fades to black and reopens on Michael searching frantically for Em. He finds her at last in the cave where she has gone to give birth. Their figures are hidden in the shadows and neither of them speaks; then Michael, played by blond Brit hunk Donald Houston, picks up the baby and holds it over his head in triumph as his ringing laugh echoes through the flickering darkness. It was more sensual than the most explicit love scene. The message was unmistakable: He was not a boy, but a man.

In the 1980 Brooke Shields version, the unraveling begins at once. First to go is the sexual innocence—because Leo McKern, who plays the old salt, has salvaged his pornographic photos. We only catch glimpses of them in rapid-fire cutins, but it plants the idea that Em and Michael could have picked up some pointers, and it makes the requisite bow to reality: Sailors like dirty pictures.

The principals really are teenagers; she coltish, he callow, both giggly. The more irritating of the pair is Christopher Atkins, who manages to render their purported innocence as grubby tactlessness every time he opens his mouth. "How come all this hair is growing on me?" he wonders, examining his legs. "I never saw anybody bleed like that," he declares, when Em gets her first period. "How come you're getting so fat?" he blurts, when her condition starts to show. It doesn't take him long to transform himself from the castaway-lover of every woman's dreams to the actual male who is seared on every woman's memory, known as The Boy Who Sat Behind Me in Homeroom.

It shouldn't be able to get any worse, but it does. *Return to the Blue Lagoon* is a second-generation orgy about the son of the dead Em and Michael and the daughter of a widow on the ship that rescued him. But alas, this ship goes down also, and the widow with two babies in tow washes up on the same island where Em and Michael once lived. The years pass, and so does the premise of the story, because this is a progressive widow who tells her growing daughter everything she needs to know, including a smarmy disquisition on the menses that sounds just like the Kotex-sponsored film they used to show us in hygiene class, called "That Wonderful Thing That Happens Every Month."

By the time the mother dies, the kids are ready to rock. The gossamer shimmer of sexual awareness is exchanged for that teen favorite, the gross-out. The boy is shown having an erotic dream with a sappy grin on his face. Seeing his erection, the girl has a giggling fit and squeals, "Oooh, does it hurt?" "I know how to get rid of it if I want to." "How?" "Wouldn't you like to know!"

A little later on, a sex-starved lady missionary shows up. **NR**

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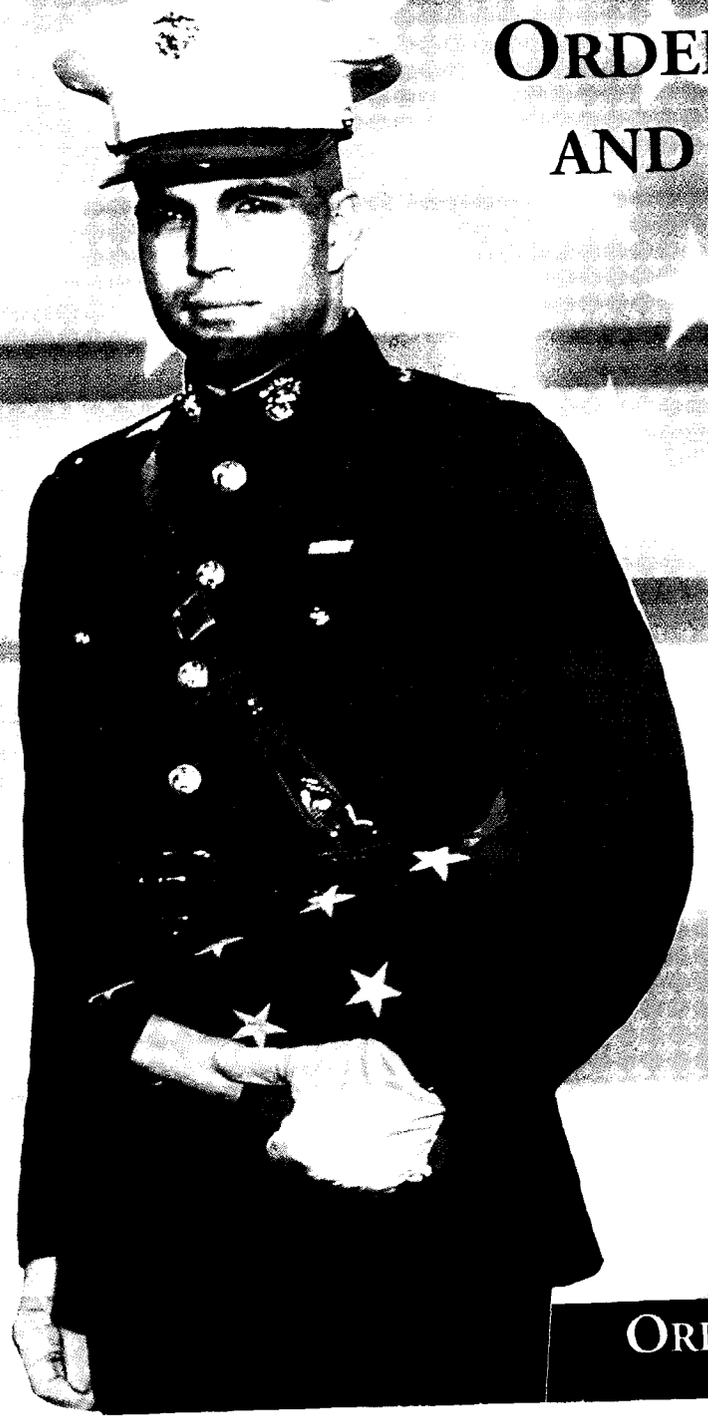

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